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CANADA

IN THE

GREAT WORLD WAR

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R. S. Baden

CANADA

IN THE

GREAT WORLD WAR

AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF THE MILITARY HISTORY OF CANADA FROM THE EARLIEST DAYS TO THE CLOSE OF THE WAR OF THE NATIONS

BY

[illegible]

Vol. II

DAYS OF PREPARATION

TORONTO
[illegible]
LIMITED

MAJOR-GENERAL M. S. MERCER, C. B.
Commander 3rd Canadian Division
Killed in the Battle of Sanctuary Wood, June 3, 1916

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VARIOUS AUTHORITIES

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FOREWORD

THE first three years of Canada's participation in the Great World War were Days of Preparation. In no way, save in the readiness of the people to make every sacrifice, was Canada prepared for war. To give the story of the Dominion's contribution to the world-struggle, it has been thought wise, before taking up the work of the army on the battlefields of Europe, to give a detailed account of the home activities—the turning of the industries of the country to war needs, the voluntary contributions for war purposes, and the surrender of the man-power of the nation for the field of battle. As this volume goes to press (September, 1918) while the war is still in progress, it is naturally impossible to give, in any department of war-work, the complete story of Canada's part in the struggle. But this volume will be found to contain all that is necessary for understanding why Canada has played such an important part in aiding the Allies to thwart the mad schemes of the Central Powers for world-domination. In the final volume of this series carefully prepared statistics will complete the tale of Canada's war effort. The volumes which follow the present one will give a connected story of the work of the Canadian divisions in the various fields of military operations. Matter which would break the flow of the narrative, such as the treatment of Canadian prisoners in Germany, Canada's contribution to Britain's sea-power and to the control of the air, the work of the Army Medical Corps, etc., will be given in appendices to the various volumes.

CHAPTER I

THE CAUSES OF THE GREAT WORLD WAR

ON SUNDAY, June 28th, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir apparent of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and his wife the Duchess of Hohenberg, were shot and killed while driving through the streets of Serajevo, in Bosnia. An enquiry into the circumstances connected with the murders was instituted by the Austrian Government, and the conclusion arrived at was that the weapons of the assassins had been obtained from a Serbian arsenal, the crime planned on Serbian soil, and that the criminals had entered Bosnia with the direct connivance and assistance of Serbian officials. As the outcome of this investigation, the Austrian Government, on July 23rd, addressed to the Serbian Government a note, making certain demands which, it intimated, must be answered satisfactorily by Serbia within forty-eight hours. Of this note Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, said, "I had never before seen one State address to another independent State a document of so formidable a character."

Despite the extreme severity of the demands, practically all of them were acceded to by Serbia. There had undoubtedly been for some time very active agitation carried on in Bosnia by Serbians, and this the accused Government promised to suppress. It further agreed to punish all persons who were proved to have been implicated in the murder of the Archduke and his consort. In response to the demand that Austrian officials should co-operate with those of Serbia in crushing the agitation against Austria, and in investigating the circumstances of the murders, Serbia declared itself willing to permit such joint action, so far as was consistent with the principles and practice of international law, but declined

to permit Austrian officials to take part in the investigation of the crime. It stated further, however, that if Austria did not regard the reply as satisfactory, Serbia would submit the matter in dispute to the Hague Tribunal, or to the Great Powers. This reply was not regarded by Austria as satisfactory, and her ambassador left Belgrade on the 25th of July.

War was not declared immediately. For several days communications were exchanged between the Great Powers, the British Foreign Secretary taking a foremost part in the endeavour to avoid hostilities and expressing the hope to Germany that the Serbian reply might be regarded as satisfactory by Austria. With this hope the German Government "associated themselves to a certain extent," but "did not see their way to going beyond this." It further said, having the probable interposition of Russia before its eyes, that "the quarrel must be localized, but if it is not localized, Russia will be to blame for the consequences." This meant that Austria had determined on chastising Serbia, and that if Russia, in the maintenance of her rôle as protector of the Slav peoples, should interfere, the consequences, not difficult to define, she must be responsible for. This statement was presented to Russia, and it required no extraordinary gifts to interpret it as a direct threat to the great Northern power. In order to isolate Russia as much as possible in the event of her paying no heed to the threat, the German Ambassador to France on July 26th requested the French Government to join him in informing the Press that he and the French Minister were endeavouring "with a feeling of peaceful solidarity" to find means for the maintenance of general peace.[1] In other words, Serbia must be isolated for purposes of correction, after the Austro-Germanic fashion, and if Russia persisted in her championship of the doomed nation, she must be cut off from outside support. Naturally this request was rejected by a chivalrous

[1] *French Yellow Book*, p. 51.

people like the French, as implying accord with Germany against her Russian ally, and being a contravention of the agreement existing between France and Russia. Throughout the negotations that filled those epochal days, the attitude of Russia was definite and clear. She had in memory the action of Austria toward Serbia and herself some six years before.

In 1908, when the Young Turk Revolution had disorganized Turkey, Austria annexed the occupied territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina, lands which formerly had belonged to the old Serbian Kingdom. At that time Serbia would undoubtedly have entered the field against Austria if Russia, the protector of the new Karageorgevitch dynasty in Belgrade, had been in a position to give aid. This Russia could not do. Weakened by her disastrous effort against Japan, she was practically powerless for the time being, and had to suffer the humiliation of giving her pledge to Austria that she would not aid Serbia. This had not passed out of Russia's mind, and now, when Austria sought again to humiliate Serbia, Russia was in a better position for defending the kindred Slav nation. On July 25th, Russia told England that Serbia would engage to punish those who were proved to be guilty of the Serajevo crime, but would not accept all the demands of Austria, and that, if Serbia appealed to arbitration, Russia was willing to abide by the decision, in council, of Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. On July 28th, Austria declared war against Serbia, but even at this late hour all hope of successful negotiation had not been abandoned. On the same day Russia warned Germany that she had ordered the mobilization of her southern districts, and that the decree would be officially promulgated on the following day. This caused Austria to halt, and she replied to Russia offering assurances that she would respect the integrity and independence of Serbia. This discussion between Russia and Austria was still proceeding on August 1st. From first to last Russia

claimed that a friendly settlement with Austria was possible, if the latter were left to follow her own inclinations, and asserted plainly that the real obstacle to adjustment was Germany.

In the light of subsequent revelations, and the knowledge the world has obtained during the progress of the war of the by-ways of German policy, one cannot doubt the correctness of Russia's conception of the situation. Germany had already warned England, France, and Russia that, if the latter mobilized, this action would necessitate German mobilization against both Russia and France, although Russia had already assured Germany that her southern mobilization would not be directed against Germany, but only against Austria, in case the latter crossed the Serbian frontier. On the 29th, Russia again requested Germany to participate in the quadruple conference proposed by Sir Edward Grey, for the purpose of composing the differences between Serbia and Austria. This proposal Germany rejected, and Austria, though still negotiating with Russia, began immediately the bombardment of Belgrade. On the 31st, Russia issued an order of general mobilization, and, on the same day, Germany presented two ultimatums, one to Russia demanding that her mobilization should cease, the other to France, enquiring what steps she would take in the event of war breaking out between Germany and Russia. The French answer was explicit, as Germany knew it would be, and from this time on, regarding war with France and Russia as certain, Berlin bent all its energies to the task of ensuring the neutrality of Great Britain, doubting little of the prospects of success. On the 29th, Germany offered, if Great Britain would agree to stand aside, to give assurances that, in the event of victory, she would make no territorial acquisitions at the expense of France, but would not extend the promise to the French colonial possessions, nor would she undertake to respect Belgian neutrality, to the maintenance of which she was pledged by treaty.

On August 1st, orders were issued for the mobilization of both French and German Armies.

From the day of the murder in Serajevo up to the actual outbreak of hostilities it became increasingly clear, precluding the slightest possibility of doubt, that behind all the apparent causes or alleged reasons for war, was the powerful, sinister figure of Germany, employing its virtual vassal as its agent to force upon the world the catastrophe for which it had been preparing with unfaltering purpose and tireless industry from the day the Franco-Prussian War ended. If the crime of Serajevo had not taken place to serve the dark purpose of Berlin, another excuse would readily have been found. The diplomatic wire-pullers who launched the war of 1870 from the basis of a forged telegram, would have experienced no difficulty in framing a "reason" for hostilities once they deemed the hour of opportunity had arrived. In *Germany and the Next War*, published by Bernhardi, a Prussian general, in 1911, one finds the following, which explains with utmost candour the true German attitude: "As soon as we are ready to fight, our statesmen must so shuffle the cards that France shall appear to be the aggressor."

The historical student who investigates the cause or causes of the World War, and seeks to place on the right shoulders the responsibility for it, must examine with care a hundred years of Prussian and German history.

In the history of the rise of Prussia to dominance first over her fellow German States, then over her neighbours, and after that over the Continent of Europe, one may find the "increasing purpose" that led to the plunging of the world into war on a scale and of a ferocity unparalleled in the history of the race. Prussia represents the spirit of modern Germany, and though one seeks to establish a distinction between that State and the rest of Germany, the difference at this time is more one of imagination than reality. Prussia has not merely

achieved the headship of the German Empire, but has succeeded to a very large measure in stamping her principles upon the life and practice of the whole people. After a long and painful subservience to Napoleon from 1806 to 1815, Prussia came into her own after Waterloo. The great Corsican had ground her into the very dust, shorn her of her lands, reduced her army to a nominal one of 42,000 men, and compelled this force to serve him in his disastrous venture against Russia in 1812. After the British and Prussian victory over Napoleon in 1815, Prussia began to unbuild. She and Austria were nominally members of a Germanic Federation, which included thirty-nine separate German States, some of considerable size, others so insignificant as to excite ridicule. From the others Prussia always stood in some respect aloof. With the more enlightened States she had smallest sympathy. The efforts of the latter to achieve political freedom were regarded scornfully by the Northern swashbuckler. Taken as a whole the years from 1815 to 1860 were happy and prosperous ones for the German States, and letters, music, and philosophy flourished among a good-natured and rather indolent people. There was, however, one section of the land that looked with contempt and displeasure on the Germany of culture, as it was understood by the Old World. In Brandenburg, Pomerania, and East Prussia was an old junker aristocracy, a lusty, timber-minded people, proud of long lineage, arrogant, overbearing, unlettered. Men of brawn rather than brain, whose god was Frederick the Great, whose ideals were medieval, whose aspirations conquest by the sword. Men of blood and iron, and little else.

Culture, freedom, parliamentary government they despised. In mental outlook they ranked with the Norse Viking of the ninth and tenth centuries; the Berserker ideals were theirs, beneath a thin veneer of latter day civilisation. They had little influence outside their own borders, were somewhat feared and much

despised by the rest of the German peoples. In Waterloo year, however, this crude, uncultured folk produced a man, who in abilities, iron will-power, and utter unscrupulousness, stood head and shoulders higher than any political leader Prussia had hitherto possessed or the new Germany has known. In Otto von Bismarck this Junkerdom gave to the world a political genius of the first order, with brain to conceive the vastest projects, ability to shape them, will to put them into practical execution, and far-sighted determination that enabled him to carry them to completion. Under the leadership of Bismarck, Junkerdom became the leading power in Prussian affairs. By the time 1860 came round, Bismarck was the idol of his country, Prussia, and had earned the dislike of the refined, gentler Germans of the South. William the First, King of Prussia, was an old-time German monarch, of the type of the Georges who filled the English throne in not over-distinguished fashion, an average Junker, a glorified country squire, unburdened by any exceptional quantity of either ambition or brain, who sustained, with a certain amount of credit, the rôle of statesman and soldier. His excellencies were, for the most part, centered in the fidelity with which he trod the marked-out path and obeyed his guide. Standing by the side of Bismarck, the latter's puppet and mouth-piece, he shone in the borrowed light of the master-servant's fame.

Projects utterly beyond the capacity of his mind even to conceive were obediently embarked upon by him, in response to the dominating influence of the great Prussian minister, who hammered ideas into his King's brain with a brusque persistence that gained its ends. Shaping his plans with the precision and crystal-clearness of the supreme genius, Bismarck set about their realization with the cold, exact logic of the mathematician, proceeding step by step, without haste and with certainty, until the result was attained. Having established the authority of Junkerdom over Prussia, Bismarck advanced to the

next stage in his plan of campaign. The domination of the new Prussia over the rest of the German States must be established beyond all doubt. In making omelettes he was unsparing of eggs, but, on the whole, his work was done economically. Three wars of aggression were deliberately planned and prepared for by him. The first had for its purpose the acquisition of the northward-stretching strip of Danish territory that should give the eagle's head and neck to the natural conformation of Prussia, as the great Chancellor himself expressed the marauding enterprise. In 1864, the first of the planned offensives was launched against Denmark, and Schleswig-Holstein was wrested from Prussia's northern neighbour, thus preparing the way for the linking of the Baltic and North Seas, an achievement that has been accomplished in this later time by the construction of the Kiel Canal. While this outrageous theft was being perpetrated, with the aid and connivance of Austria, Great Britain stood aside, and it is something more than poetic justice to find that she has had to pay inconveniently for her indifference half a century ago. Having enjoyed the sympathetic aid of Austria in the Danish war, Bismarck had no compunction in administering to his ally of two years before, something of the same kind of treatment that Denmark had received at his hands. As he regarded matters, it was necessary to establish once and for all Prussian supremacy in the Germanic world, since there had long been a tendency for the South German States to lean toward Austria rather than toward the overbearing and truculent Prussia. The operation was short and sharp. In seven weeks the might of Prussia shattered the armies of her proud neighbour. Henceforward the South German peoples might know how unreliable was the reed upon which they had been inclined to lean. This second task disposed of, Bismarck set up, under Prussian presidency, the New North German Confederation, which, however, embraced the reluctant South German States as well. Austria was shown to the door

and, with scant courtesy, thrust outside. No gift of prophecy was needed to foretell the coming of the day when the proud House of Hapsburg would become, in vital matters, but a poor relation of Prussia, receiving rebuffs or patronizing condescensions according to the mood or necessities of her conqueror.

Having disposed of Denmark and Austria to the great profit of Prussia, four industrious years were spent in fitting the War Machine of Berlin for its third task. France, the ancient enemy, must be humbled, not merely as retributive vengeance for old humiliations and wrongs, but in order to eliminate Prussia's most serious rival for European supremacy. Prussia, or Prussianized Germany, never yet fought for a mere principle or gratification that had not behind it some present, tangible profit. It is because of this characteristic that the modern German finds it impossible to understand why any sane people should go to war about scraps of paper or moral principles. It is as useless to argue with him about his lack in this respect as to remonstrate with a blind man on account of his infirmity. To the German nothing could be more absurd than to order national life according to the principles of truth, honour, and moral obligation. Said the German Chancellor to the British Ambassador to Berlin, in deepest agitation, at their final interview: "Just for a scrap of paper Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation, who desired nothing better than to be friends with her." To the German mind the thing was quixotic, preposterous, scarcely believable.

So long as the hand of Bismarck was upon Prussia's helm, he was content to give to Russia the widest of berths, and placate her with fine words and amiable sentiments. The West was to him the true land of promise, and, when 1870 came, the keen-eyed watcher saw that the harvest fields of France were ripe for the sickle. An incapable emperor sat on the French throne, a corrupt government had the control of affairs.

To those who knew the real conditions obtaining in the France and Germany of that day, the issue of the encounter was beyond the possibility of doubt. In little more than six months the work was done. Napoleon surrendered at Sedan in September, 1870, and in the following spring the brave resistance of Paris, under the new Republic, was terminated by internal dissensions and gaunt famine. The King of Prussia was crowned German Emperor in Versailles, Alsace and Lorraine were shorn from France, and a huge money indemnity exacted. In some respects the results of the Franco-Prussian War did not turn out according to Bismarck's calculations. He thought he had bled France white, beyond all possibility of energetic recovery, but he misunderstood the nation with which he was dealing. His successors have made the same mistake, and paid, at the Marne and Verdun, in costly fashion for their ill reckoning. Four years after the pompous triumph at Versailles, Bismarck would have gone back to the half-done task and made a proper end of it, but the attitude of Great Britain and Russia induced him to abandon the project, and wounded France was spared the second stab. The situation at this time, as viewed by the Prussian, may be thus represented: The Junker had secured the domination of his party within the home State; Prussia had become lord of the vassal German States; the new Germany was virtual military master of Europe; from a little State, "with barely a window even to the Baltic," an Empire had developed. Within seven years the three great tasks had been done, and the actual fighting on the field against Denmark, Austria, and France, had occupied the German armies less than forty weeks. The stealthy preparation, the watchful waiting for the foe's weak moment, the tigerish leap at the throat, had proved profitable work.

Little wonder that the success-intoxicated Junker began to see visions and dream dreams of still wider lordship. From the day on which Bismarck realized

that a second attack on France would not be tolerated by European public opinion, he seemed to regard his aggressive work as finished. Whether with advancing age had come a cooling of the old fiery spirit, or whether increase of years had brought a fuller and riper wisdom, one may not know, but after 1875 the great statesman began to brake his ambitions. Germany, he declared, had bitten off all she could chew, and until the big mouthful had been swallowed and digested, it would be worse than useless to seek for more. The astonishing development of German commerce added force to his reasoning. Peace, he now held, had its victories no less renowned than war, though it was not easy to make the average Junker-militarist understand this, so the great Chancellor counselled his people to cultivate the fields already acquired, reaping their rich harvests, rather than venture further abroad. Then old William died, and his gifted son, Frederick, followed him swiftly to the grave. The second William, whose hot-headed arrogance and indiscretions had caused wise Europe to shake its head doubtfully, ascended the throne. In 1890, he dropped the Old Pilot, who stepped from the bridge of the ship he had made, leaving the "young Man" at the helm. The new order was "Full Speed Ahead!" and Germany plunged onward, toward the seas that for the greater part of a thousand years had been home, battlefield, harvest ground, and grave to Great Britain's sons. In 1891, was founded the Pan-German League, which gave concrete expression to the spirit that had been more or less rampant in Germany since 1870. Its leaders included Germany's most influential men—soldiers, bankers, contractors, editors, professors, and preachers. It fathered a host of smaller leagues and worked in closest harmony with the great Navy League. From one end of the land to the other it spread, missing no hamlet, its doctrines promulgated in every newspaper, pulpit, lecture hall, and schoolroom within the borders of the new Germany. *Deutschland über Alles!* was its watch-

word and battle cry. More wonderful than Whitefield's pronunciation of that "blessed word Mesopotamia" was the frenzied adulation of the "Deutschland" to be, after the "Day" had come and gone. The power of the League was irresistible. It set up and hurled down politicians, triumphed over parties, rebuked even "Divine Majesty" in no measured terms when it did not walk in its ways. Henceforward German policy changed in its relation to the outer world. Bismarck had counselled Russian friendship, and had even entered into alliance with the Bear, but the new Germany reversed this, and allowed the defensive pact to lapse. The result was that France and Russia drew more closely together, until, from an understanding, a treaty for mutual defence was signed. In 1896, the new policy of the German Colonial Expansionists began, and, with this, the next step in national evolution was taken.

At first the new movement contented itself with demanding "compensations" when other Powers developed their colonial possessions, and discovering "interests" where none had been suspected before. In 1897, and again in 1900, the Kaiser's mailed-fist policy toward China drew the attention of the world to the new departure. An extremely ostentatious friendship for unsavory Turkey first amused, and then interested international onlookers. The Berliner, who did not have a single Mohammedan subject throughout his realm, gratuitously constituted himself Protector of the Mohammedan world. His effusive sympathy with the Boer Republics, in their trouble with Great Britain, opened eyes in England that had long blinked sleepily and charitably. Then came the Bagdad Railway project. All which served to illustrate the changed German attitude toward the outer world. In Africa began a policy of sword-rattling that was clearly intended to intimidate France, and compel Great Britain to exhibit the degree of her friendship for her neighbour across Dover Strait. In 1904, Great Britain and France had gone over their books

together, and adjusted quite a number of outstanding and disputed accounts. France had acknowledged the British occupation of Egypt, and Great Britain had promised to regard the French sphere of influence in Morocco favourably. In the German Reichstag, Count Bülow declared that in these arrangements Germany had nothing to complain about, as Northern Africa was outside the sphere of German affairs.

In 1905, the German Emperor went to Tangier, and delivered, naturally, an oration, declaring that he would uphold German interests in Morocco, and would not permit interference from the outside between himself and the free sovereign of a free country. It was explained later that Germany did not object to the understanding, but to the fact that she had not been consulted about it. Delcassé, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, was forced into retirement, and a Conference at Algeciras affirmed French rights in Morocco, Germany giving her assent. Probably the Tangier episode would never have taken place had not Russia at this time been fighting Japan, and it may be that Germany's complacency at the conference was influenced by the fact that the Russo-Japanese war was now over. Having got rid of her old-standing difficulties with France, Great Britain now came to an understanding with Russia regarding Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet, three points of contact with the affairs of India. In 1911, the Moroccan affair was once more thrust forward by the German occupation of Agadir. This action was so absolutely gratuitous as to preclude any doubt as to its meaning. Germany was obviously seeking to fasten a quarrel on France and, at the same time, endeavouring to test the strength of the Entente existing between Great Britain and France. Asquith and Lloyd George, speaking the mind of the British Government, announced that the latter would have regard both to her interests and treaty obligations; and once more the storm blew over. It was manifest that the German purpose in creating

these alarming situations was to prove to the world, and to France in particular, that the Entente was but a thing of words and paper, and to exhibit to France the utter futility of relying upon Great Britain in war's emergencies. To split up combinations adverse to her own interest has ever been a leading principle in German policy. She is always ready to assume that the diplomacy of other nations is, like her own, based on fraud and dishonour.

In order to further advance her plans for Colonial expansion and prepare for World domination, Germany, in 1898, launched out upon the seas. Having laid hold on military sovereignty, she sought supremacy upon the ocean, proclaiming in the Kaiser's flamboyant phrase, that she intended to "grasp the trident." Nine years before, Great Britain had laid down the "Two Power" standard for her ship-building programme. This policy was based upon the possibility of conflict with the joint sea forces of France and Russia. Germany now drew up a six years' naval programme, which was not an unreasonable one, considering her colonial interests, the coast line she had to protect, and the welfare of her overseas commerce. Two years later, however, this plan was amended to such purpose that the German Navy was doubled at one stroke. Even in the Reichstag it was pointed out that this hugely increased force could only have in contemplation hostilities against Great Britain. The spokesman for the German Government replied that Germany must be so powerful at sea that the strongest naval power should not be able to challenge her with any degree of confidence. In 1906, Great Britain tried the experiment of retrenching on naval estimates, and in response Germany increased hers by one-third. So rapidly was the latter building that Great Britain suddenly awoke to the fact that at the then relative rates of building, Germany would be actually superior in the matter of capital ships by the year 1914. To meet this clear challenge Britain adopted

the sixty per cent. dreadnought superiority over Germany. Again, in 1912, the German naval estimates were largely increased. The following year Great Britain proposed a naval holiday, during which new construction should be abandoned. The suggestion was commended amiably by the German Chancellor, and an expenditure of half a million pounds promptly added to the already swollen German estimates.

Only those who were purposely blind could ignore these patent facts, or be misled by the fine phrases and pious platitudes which are part of the stock in trade of the Teutonic diplomatist. The foe against whom all the guile and strength of Germany were to be exerted was Great Britain. She it was who stood in the way of the fourth great step in the Prussian evolution. She was, in the words of Maximilian Harden, "Carthage—and Carthage must be blotted out." France was but the stepping stone. The old error must be corrected, and as compensation for having to do the work twice over, the Channel ports must be Germany's reward; Dunkirk, Calais, Boulogne, together with Antwerp and Ostend, would pay for the outlay, if nothing else were to be gained. To break France was the immediate object, and during this process Great Britain must at all hazards be bribed or cajoled to stand aside, a foolish victim looking upon the slaughter of his fellow, ignorant of the fact that the reeking knife would next seek his own heart. France done with finally, there would be the period of preparation, the fortification of the new naval bases facing Dover, and then the leap. Germany did not regard the task as one of extraordinary difficulty. Ireland, in the eyes of her diplomatists, was in perpetual revolt. The overseas Dominions were eagerly waiting the opportunity to fling off the silken tie of Empire, India was seething with rebellion, Egypt longing for the fulfilment of her Nationalist aspirations, Capital and Labour at each other's throats in Britain, the Suffragette burning and destroying. The youth of Great

Britain were, as Kipling had contemptuously represented them:

"The flannelled fool at the wicket, the muddied oaf in the goal."

As for Belgium, that was but one of the details of the greater plan. Said Rohrbach in his book, *The German Idea in the World:* "The world has no longer need of little nationalities. If they are to give full effect to their ideas of culture, and to gather up the results of their scientific discoveries, they must fall into line with the world-power of Germany." Frymann thus wrote: "We cannot tolerate on our north-west frontier those little states which give no guarantee against their violation by England and France, so when we decide on war we shall summon them to join us, or be treated as enemies." The word thus spoken was addressed to Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland alike, and who can doubt its fulfilment should the tiger be successful in his larger enterprise?

That Germany was convinced of Great Britain's nervelessness is beyond question. Lichnowsky, her Ambassador at the Court of St. James, thus assured her. Her influential agents expressed the same conviction. In the case of Russia the certainty pointed the other way, and the long chance had to be taken. If the worst there came to the worst the Eastern line could be held, since Russian mobilization would necessarily be slow, until the smashing blow had been dealt to decadent France, then the War Machine could swing East and dispose of the unwieldy forces of huge, slow-moving Russia. France broken, Russia maimed, the jumping-off places against Britain secured, there were still great rewards at the other end of the far-flung battle line to be gained at the expense of the supreme foe, the British Empire. The Balkan difficulties would be adjusted finally, and after the German fashion. Bulgaria, ever since the injustice done her after her fight against the Turk, had nursed her wrath, and was hungry for

vengeance on her former allies. Germany knew, none better, how to blend the poison for the wound and the soothing for the injured spirit of the sufferer, and had made sure of the fox Ferdinand. Rumania had ever been a calculator, and it might be that policy would demand that she be forced into action against the Central Powers, to clear a troublesome person out of the way. The Turk was mortgaged body and such soul as he owned to the Kaiser, so from Berlin to Constantinople, and from the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus to Bagdad, the corridor would be wide open. Jerusalem, Medina, Mecca, the holy places, would come under the new sphere of Germany's influence, and the new railway would furnish a jumping-off place from which a drive could be made against Suez, the heart of the great British Empire. With a port on the Persian Gulf, India was near, very near. West and East the German spears would be levelled against the heart of the Empire that stood in the way of the World dominance of the German.

Wrote Sir Edward Grey on July 29th, 1914: "I urged that the German Government should suggest any method by which the influence of the four Powers could be used together to prevent war between Austria and Russia. France agreed. Italy agreed. The whole idea of mediation or mediating influence was ready to be put into operation by any method Germany could suggest, if mine was not acceptable. In fact, mediation was ready to come into operation by any method that Germany thought possible, if only Germany would press the button in the interests of peace." Germany declined to "press the button," since what she had conspired, striven, plotted for, was coming to pass. Her mastery of Europe completed, she would then be in a favourable position for bringing about the completion of her great design. Sufficient unto the day should be the effort thereof. To divide her foes, and destroy them in turn, had ever been her policy. France, Russia, and Belgium furnished the immediate task, and after their destruction

had been effected, the turn of Great Britain would come. The miscalculations of Germany have been, and will be tragic from her standpoint, but providential from that of the safety of the world. She had studied Great Britain with infinite patience and microscopic care, but with all her knowledge, and the genius for taking pains that is hers in unusual measure, there is, in her methods and mental equipment, an extraordinary lack, an impressive incapacity for understanding the workings of the non-Prussian mind. Honour to her, like religion, is something to be mouthed on occasion and laughed at secretly; and when she meets with those to whom these things are realities she is baffled and blinded in the presence of what is incomprehensible to her.

Many and specious are the pretexts set forth by Germany in order to impress the world with the righteous necessity of her most dastardly deeds, but when the trappings of hypocritical pretence are torn aside, and one thrusts away the puppets who have danced to the wire-pullings, it is clearly seen that the World War was caused by the deliberate, long-planned determination of Germany, in the furtherance of her boundlessly ambitious schemes. It was not the murders at Serajevo, not merely the desire to maim Russia, destroy France, crush Belgium, that were the moving considerations in the plot to make of earth a bloody hell, but the ruthless development of the Prussian idea and ambition that sprang from the brutalized mind of the Junkerdom of Brandenburg, Pomerania, East Prussia, and the bleak marches that fringe the shore of the Baltic.

Russia was despised as more than half barbarian and wholly unkultured. France was held in contempt by Germany as decadent. The smaller nations had no excuse for separate existence, and were regarded by the Berlin military-philosophic cult as so much prey, to be swallowed as leisure and opportunity served. For Great Britain, the Sea Empire, the German reserved the unfathomable stores of his envious, malicious, deadly

hatred. The crime of the British Empire, in Teutonic eyes, was that she was rich, successful, held the keys of the world, and had, by the industry and enterprise of her sons and daughters, through long generations of unremitting toil, made the solitary places glad because of her, and the world's wildernesses to blossom as the rose. She had won her beneficent sea rule by paying without stint the price of Admiralty, and had built up her far-spread dominions, not faultlessly, but in the main upon the foundations of justice and freedom. Germany was like the sulky labourer who enters the field when the shades of evening are falling, and envies and hates the toiler who, having borne the heat and burden of the long day, receives the due reward of his labour. It was to satisfy that hate, to gain possession of that for which she had not laboured, that Germany, sole cause and criminal, plunged a World into the hideous barbarity and the unutterable vileness of War.

CHAPTER II

CANADA AT WAR

THE process by which Canada became a nation in arms, taking part in a world-wide war and sending armies to Europe, was one of gradual development.

Before Confederation the British North American Provinces were regarded as likely to require aid from Britain rather than to give it. British troops were maintained in Canada, and British fleets were stationed on her Atlantic and Pacific coasts. There were two causes for this state of affairs:—the primitive condition of the provinces and the lack of unity and communication between them. Upper and Lower Canada, now Ontario and Quebec, were united, but the form of the union was unsuitable to both, and this was one of the causes of the deadlock of the early sixties, which in its turn compelled the statesmen of that time to look to federation as a remedy. On the Atlantic, three Provinces were British but not Canadian. On the Pacific, British Columbia was in a similar position. Between the Rocky Mountains and old Canada stretched the vast expanse of prairie now known as Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, then almost uninhabited. There was no direct railway communication between Canada and neighbouring British provinces and territories, the population was small and scattered, the country was poor in developed wealth, though rich in potential resources.

One of the arguments used in favour of Confederation was that it would increase the defensive power of Canada. "The Colonies," said Sir John Macdonald in the Confederation debate, "are now in a transition state. Gradually a different colonial system is being developed; and it will become year by year less a case of dependence

on our part, and of overruling protection on the part of the mother-country, and more a case of a hearty and cordial alliance. Instead of looking upon us as a merely dependent colony, England will have in us a friendly colony; to stand by her in North America in peace or war."

One of the first results of Confederation, therefore, was the removal of British regular forces from Canada and the strengthening of the Canadian Militia. The fleets, stationed at Halifax and Esquimalt, remained until early in the present century; their withdrawal is part of a later phase of Canadian history, and it was of course understood that the power of Great Britain on land and sea would be behind Canada if attacked.

Even after Confederation, however, Canada was a comparatively poor country to which no one looked as the source of armies to be used beyond seas. Ten years later, the revenue available for Federal purposes was only a little more than $22,000,000. The development of the country taxed all its powers. In the early eighties the task of building the Canadian Pacific Railway was regarded as almost too great for the young nation. Yet $25,000,000, the amount of the money grant to the Canadian Pacific Railway syndicate, then described as colossal, was only one-sixteenth of the war grants made by Parliament in the first two years of the Great World War. Until near the beginning of the twentieth century the progress of Canada was slow, but the tremendous growth during the ten or fifteen years before 1914 enabled her to participate in the war on so vast a scale.

A main cause for the conditions which prevailed in the earlier period was the condition of dependence to which Sir John Macdonald referred. More was heard then than now of danger arising on the North American Continent itself, and of a war beginning with an invasion of Canada. It was not from Europe that the attack was feared, but from the United States. The speeches made during the debate on Confederation are full of

reference to the supposed danger. The Civil War had converted the United States into one of the foremost military powers in the world. Its people were believed to be burning with military ardour and eager for adventure and conquest. And it was believed, too, that American feeling toward Great Britain, because of the *Alabama* Affair, and other incidents of the Civil War, was unfriendly, and that Canada might be made to suffer the consequences. For thirty years after the Canadian provinces were federated, those who urged the need for greater military preparation in Canada invariably pointed, not to Europe but to the United States, as the source of danger.

But as time went on the relations between the British Empire and the United States improved. There were controversies which occasionally threatened to provoke conflict—arising out of such international issues as the Venezuela Boundary Question and the North Atlantic fisheries—but one by one these perils were passed, and British statesmen ceased to be anxious about North America. The great armies raised during the Civil War were dispersed. In our time the United States, which in its youth was regarded as thirsting for conquest, has been reproached for its tendency to pacificism.

As the apprehension of conflict in America passed away, the sky in Europe darkened. The withdrawal of the British fleets from Halifax and Esquimalt was an evidence of lessening anxiety as to any conflict having its origin in America, and greater anxiety from another source—mainly from Germany, with its armies far exceeding in strength those of any other European Power, and with a navy rising to the second place, and in the opinion of many aspiring to the first and challenging British supremacy on the sea. The German peril, as it was pictured in the early years of this century, was of a direct attack on England—an invasion rendered possible by evading or defeating the British Navy. Hence the war which was predicted was one which would be

quickly decided by one or more great naval battles. This was the belief of those who from 1909 onward urged that Canada should give dreadnoughts or some other direct contribution to the naval strength of the Empire. They argued that there would be no use in spending money upon the local defence of the coasts of Canada. If the great battle in the North Sea resulted in a British victory, they contended, the local defence of Canada's shores would be unnecessary. If Germany won, it would be too late to take measures for the defence of Canada.

In all the discussion that took place as to the reality or unreality of the German peril, the rivalry of the British and German Empires was emphasized, almost to the exclusion of the battleground of continental Europe. What was unexpected was the immense part which the British Empire would take in a war on land, on the continent of Europe. The British Navy played, of course, a most important part in the war, and probably at the outset saved France from destruction. But the unexpected thing was the raising of a huge army of 5,000,000 men, rivalling those of the greatest Powers of continental Europe. And the unexpected task which Canada was called upon to perform was the enlisting and equipment of an army of 500,000 men. It may be said safely that the real character of the war, and of the contribution to be made by Canada, was foreseen by no one; no such prophecies, at least, can be found in the voluminous debates upon the subject.

And it transpired that Germany's real plan was not suddenly to attack England, but to secure the mastery of Europe by movements of lightning rapidity against France and Russia. With her hands free and with the rest of Europe cowed or reduced to a condition of vassalage or at least of impotency, Germany would be obviously in a far stronger position for an attack on the British Empire.

Because of the continental design of Germany, and of the probable consequences of its success, Great Britain

became for the first time in many years a participant, and in the course of time a very important one, in a vast European war, at first with a small expeditionary force and afterwards with an army comparable in strength with those of the Great Powers of continental Europe. In the process of building up this army the British tradition of centuries was abandoned and conscription was adopted.

Canada proceeded in a similar way—from the sending of a small contingent to the formation of an army much larger than the regular army with which Great Britain began the war.

This Canadian participation was a development of Canadian history, and of the history of Europe and of the British Empire. Take by way of contrast the Crimean War. Technically, Canada was then at war as part of the British Empire. But Canada played practically no part, partly because of its weakness, and partly because the war was really a local affair and not an earth-shaking conflict. Canada sent contingents to the South African War, but this again was a local conflict of comparatively small proportions, with a country having no outlet to and consequently no strength on the sea.

When the great European war broke out the saying that when the Empire is at war Canada is at war became not a mere legal doctrine but a living fact. And this was the first and most obvious cause of Canada's entrance into the war—namely, her relation to the rest of the Empire. It was taken for granted that Canada was at war. The question was as to the extent of her participation and the kind and amount of the force which she would contribute to the common cause. Yet this was not a matter of detail, but vital. The difference between sending 50,000 men and sending 500,000 was all-important. And it is in regard to this difference that we have to seek the reasons for Canada's decision.

The most potent cause was probably British sentiment —family sentiment—the sentiment founded upon race and tradition; the other cause may be called cosmopolitan

or humanitarian. In Canada as in England it was represented that there was danger not only to the British Empire but to civilization itself, and to free institutions all over the world. German militarism, German despotism, were freely denounced. Many readers of Canadian journals became familiar for the first time with the names of Frederick Nietzsche, Professor von Treitschke, and General von Bernhardi, who had fanned the flame of militarism in Germany. Anything like an accurate analysis of their teachings would be impossible here. The impression produced by quotations and abstracts from the writings of these men published in Canada was that of a Germany departing from its older, kindlier sentiments and its higher ideals, and poisoned by the advocacy of the ruthless use of brute force. The State becomes a monster, subject itself to no law, and exacting implicit obedience and idolatrous worship like Milton's Moloch:

"Horrid King besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice and parents' tears,
Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud
Their children's cries unheard, that passed through fire
To his grim idol."

It was pointed out, too, that German militarists were not content with describing war as a necessary evil, but justified it as a necessity of national development; "a biological necessity, the medicine of the human race, without which mankind would sink into ignoble sloth, and civilization would become a stagnant pool." As to the last, it should fairly be said the doctrine is not peculiar to Germany, and it is part of the accepted teaching of militarism everywhere. In Canada itself it has been declared that an age in which war has ceased would be "a golden age enjoyed by a spineless and emasculated race of beings, who have forgotten the meaning of the words courage, honour, and self-sacrifice."

Probably little would have been heard of these German preachings if the war had not illustrated the correspond-

ing practice. The case of Belgium was widely commented upon in Canada. The phrase used by the German Chancellor, "a scrap of paper," became a byword to express contempt for sacred treaty obligations. Following the lawless invasion of Belgium came the ruthless treatment of the civilian population, men, women, and children,—murder, torture, and nameless outrage, the barbarous destruction of cities and historic monuments. Upon these acts the comments of journals and public speakers in Canada were stern and angry. In this case the appeal was made, not to men of British race alone, but to the whole civilized world. The war on the part of the Allies was represented as a moral crusade, in defence of the honour of women, against murder and outrage; and it was contended that no country, however peaceful, could expect immunity from such outrages, since Belgium was only seeking to defend the neutrality which had been guaranteed by Prussia itself, and which was not only a Belgian right but a duty and a trust held for all Europe. These and subsequent acts of German "frightfulness" are important because they had a direct influence upon the action of Canada. They put fire into articles and speeches and sermons, they became part of the material used by the recruiting officers.

Canada was thus influenced by the Imperial or British view and by the broad humanitarian view. And finally, the argument was used that in sending troops to France Canada was really defending itself, forestalling any possible danger of an attack by Germans by helping to prevent Germany from dominating Europe and making it a base of operations against this and other countries.

The Prime Minister of Canada, Sir Robert Borden, acted upon the assumption that Canada would take an active part in the war, and that Parliament would give the Government all necessary support. On August 1st, three days before Great Britain declared war on Germany, Sir Robert, in a telegram to the British Secretary

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RT. HON. SIR ROBERT BORDEN, G. C. M. G.

of State for the Colonies, opened up the question of Canadian aid, and asked for the views of the Imperial Government. On August 4th, the British Government said that there seemed to be no immediate need for an expeditionary force from Canada, but that it would be wise to take legislative steps for the provision of such a force in case it should be required. Two days later the Canadian offer was accepted, and it was proposed that Canada should send forward a division comprising about 22,500 men. Parliament was summoned to meet on August 18th. A paragraph from the speech from the throne will indicate the view then taken of the situation.

"The critical period into which we have just entered has aroused to the full the patriotism and loyalty which have always actuated the Canadian people. From every province and indeed from every community the response to the call of duty has been all that could be desired. The spirit which thus animates Canada also inspires His Majesty's dominions throughout the world; and we may be assured that united action to repel the common danger will not fail to strengthen the ties that bind together those vast dominions in the possession and enjoyment of the blessings of British liberty."

There was a brief debate upon the address in reply to this speech, if debate it may be called where no difference of opinion was shown. The speeches are worthy of study as illustrating the attitude of public men at that time. The address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was moved by an Ontario member and seconded, as is the custom, by a French Canadian. The mover, Mr. Donald Sutherland of South Oxford, said that Great Britain was fighting to fulfil a solemn international obligation, not only of law but of honour, and also to vindicate the principle that small nationalities must not be crushed, in defiance of international good faith, by the arbitrary will of an overmastering power. "No nation," he said, "ever entered into a controversy with a clearer and stronger conviction that it was fighting, not for

aggression, not for the maintenance of its own selfish interest, but in defence of principles . . . vital to the civilization of the world." He made generous mention of the position of citizens of Canada of German birth and descent, and quoted from a letter published in the press, written by Professor Riethdorf of Woodstock College, a native of Germany and a former German soldier who, while avowing a natural sympathy with his countrymen, denounced the Kaiser as "the common foe of Europe," and declared his loyalty to Great Britain.

The seconder, Mr. D. O. L'Esperance of Montmagny, laid stress upon the civilizing and salutary influence of the invincible British fleet, upon the fact that France and England were fighting hand in hand for the liberties of the world, and upon the unity shown by all Canadians.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, leader of the Opposition, said that the gravity of the occasion which had caused Parliament to be summoned rendered it necessary to disregard the formalities which were ordinarily enforced as safeguards against too hasty action. He and his friends would give immediate consent to measures needed to insure the defence of Canada and to aid the mother-country. "It is our duty, more pressing than all other duties, at once . . . to let Great Britain know, and to let the friends and foes of Great Britain know, that there is in Canada but one mind and one heart, and that all Canadians stand behind the mother-country, conscious and proud that she is engaged in this war, not from any selfish motive, not for any purpose of aggrandisement, but to maintain untarnished the honour of her name, to fulfil her obligations to her allies, and to save civilization from the unbridled lust of conquest and domination." England, he said, was engaged in no ordinary contest, but in a war which would stagger the world with its magnitude and horror.

"But that war," he continued, "is for as noble a cause as ever impelled a nation to risk her all upon the arbitrament of the sword. That question is no longer

at issue; the judgment of the world has already pronounced upon it. I speak not only of those nations which are engaged in this war, but of the neutral nations. The testimony of the ablest men of these nations, without a dissenting voice, is that to-day the allied nations are fighting for freedom against oppression, for democracy against autocracy, for civilization against reversion to that state of barbarism in which the supreme law is the law of might.

"It is an additional source of pride to us that England did not seek this war. It is a matter of history that she did not draw the sword until every means had been exhausted to secure and to keep an honourable peace. For a time it was hoped that Sir Edward Grey, who on more than one occasion has saved Europe from such a calamity, would again avert the awful scourge of war. So it will go down on a still nobler page of history that England could have averted this war if she had been willing to forgo the position which she had maintained for many centuries at the head of European civilization; if she had been willing to desert her allies, to sacrifice her obligations, to allow the German Emperor to bully heroic Belgium, to trample upon defenseless Luxembourg, to rush upon isolated France, and to put down his booted heel upon continental Europe. At that price England would have secured peace; but her answer to the German Emperor was 'your proposals are infamous' and, rather than accept them, England has entered into this war. And there is not to-day . . . a single man whose admiration for England is not greater by reason of this firm and noble attitude."

The position of German citizens in Canada was thus referred to:

"They are certainly among our best citizens. This has been acknowledged on more than one occasion. They are proud of the land of their adoption, which to many of them is the land of their birth, and they have shown more than once their devotion to British institu-

tions. But, Sir, they would not be men if they had not in their hearts a deep feeling of affection for the land of their ancestors, and nobody blames them for that. . . . But let me tell my countrymen of German origin that we have no quarrel with the German people. . . . Nothing can be truer than the words which have been reported to have been uttered by a German soldier made prisoner in Belgium that this war is not a war of the German people; and if there is a silver lining to this darkest cloud which now overhangs Europe, it is that, as a result and consequence of this war, the German people will take the determination to put an end for ever to this personal imperialism, and to make it impossible evermore for one man to throw millions of the human race into all the horrors of modern warfare."

The Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, gave a somewhat more detailed account of the state of Europe before the war and of the efforts of Great Britain to maintain peace. He, like Mr. Sutherland and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, spoke friendly words about the Germans as individuals and attributed the war to the domination of a military autocracy.

"Nearly half a million of the very best citizens of Canada," he said, "are of German origin, and I am sure no one would for one moment desire to utter one word or use any expression in debate which would wound the self-respect or hurt the feelings of any of our fellow-citizens of German descent."

He went on to say that Germans or Austrians, whether naturalized or not, would not be molested or interfered with unless they sought to aid our enemies or leave Canada for the purpose of fighting on the enemies' side. His closing words were:

"In the awful dawn of the greatest war the world has ever known, in the hour when peril confronts us such as this Empire has not faced for a hundred years, every vain or unnecessary word seems a discord. As to our duty; we are all agreed; we stand shoulder to shoulder

with Britain and the other British Dominions in this quarrel, and that duty we shall not fail to fulfil as the honour of Canada demands. Not for love of battle, not for lust of conquest, not for greed of possessions, but for the cause of honour, to maintain solemn pledges, to uphold principles of liberty, to withstand forces that would convert the world into an armed camp; yes, in the very name of the peace that we sought at any cost save that of dishonour, we have entered into this war; and while gravely conscious of the tremendous issues involved and of all the sacrifices that they may entail, we do not shrink from them but with firm hearts we abide the event."

The general tone of the debate was described by Sir George Foster at the close of the session:

"That generosity which sometimes lies more or less concealed in partisan and racial disputes has burst all those ignoble bonds, and a feeling of pure patriotism, love of country, and devotion to what the flag symbolizes, has come to the front disfigured by no mean or petty purpose."

During the discussion some references were made to the speeches of Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith in the British House of Commons, and full reports of these speeches were afterwards printed and circulated for Canadian use.

The House speedily got down to business. The Minister of Justice moved a series of resolutions declaring that it was expedient "to ratify and confirm measures consequent upon the present state of war" and giving large powers to the Governor-General-in-Council. These included censorship of publications and communication, arrest, detention, exclusion and deportation, control of harbours and movement of vessels, transportation by land, air and water, trade and manufacture. Some changes were made in the tariff for the purpose of providing additional revenue; but this matter was dealt with more comprehensively in the following session.

The first war appropriation was for $50,000,000, and it was supposed to provide for the pay and equipment of 25,000 men. On August 22nd, the Minister of Militia, the Hon. Sam Hughes, said that 100,000 men had volunteered. "So far as my own personal views are concerned," he declared, "I am absolutely opposed to anything that is not voluntary in every sense, and I do not read in the law that I have any authority to ask Parliament to allow troops other than volunteers to leave the country."

Not only was the idea of compulsion unprecedented, but nothing was said at this time about any measures for promoting recruiting. It seemed to be unnecessary, for the unsolicited volunteers appeared to be in excess of the number of men who would be required. In the succeeding two years of the war, this view was modified. The standard aimed at was raised from 25,000 to 500,000, and it became necessary to carry on a vigorous campaign for recruits. Criticism of those who failed to respond grew louder and harsher, and at last the demand arose for conscription.

These matters are mentioned at this point in order to show how the idea of sending small contingents, somewhat after the manner adopted in the South African War, gradually disappeared, and gave way to the idea that all physically fit men should go. At first the volunteers were regarded as exceptions. Then the idea arose that those who stayed at home were exceptions. The presumption was that the man should go, and that it was for him to show why he should be allowed to stay at home.

The position of Germans and Austrians in Canada was one of great difficulty for themselves and for the authorities. The Government had to deal with a large German population whose ancestors for three or four generations had been Canadians. In addition there had been large immigration from the Teutonic countries and especially from Austria and Hungary in the recent years. For instance, between 1901 and 1911 the population of

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LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THE HON. SIR SAM HUGHES, K. C. B.
Minister of Militia and Defence, October, 1911, to November, 1916

Austro-Hungarian origin had increased from 18,000 to 129,000, and the German population from 310,000 to 393,000. In all, the Teutonic population in 1911 was over half a million, or more than one-sixteenth of the whole population of Canada.

Measures were taken for registering alien enemies, for interning those who were regarded as dangerous, and for compelling others to report at stated times. Immediately on the outbreak of the war it was proclaimed that persons of German and Austrian nationality pursuing their usual vocations "shall not be arrested, detained or interfered with unless there is reasonable ground to believe that they are engaged in espionage or attempting to engage in acts of a hostile nature or to give information to the enemy," or unless they broke the law.

By the same Order-in-Council (August 7, 1914) German reservists were forbidden to leave Canada by any Atlantic or Pacific port, and were to be arrested if they made the attempt; and it was ordered that precautions should be taken at important points on the boundary line between Canada and the United States to prevent German reservists from crossing into the United States with the object of eventually reaching Germany.

The relations between persons of German birth or descent and the authorities and people of Canada were the cause of some incidents which can only be glanced at in this sketch.

In Waterloo County and other parts of Western Ontario there is a large German population. The greater part of this population is really Canadian—children and grandchildren of those who had arrived in Canada in earlier days. But, as there are some new arrivals who were supposed, and in some cases rightly, to sympathize with the Kaiser, the situation was complicated and gave rise to some difficulties and disturbances. Later on an agitation arose to change the name of Berlin, the capital of Waterloo County. After a long

and somewhat acrimonious controversy, this was done. The matter was submitted to a popular vote; the advocates of the change of name won by a small majority, and in August, 1916, the name was changed to Kitchener.

In the first winter of the war there was an agitation in Toronto over the position of several professors of German birth on the staff of the University of Toronto. Various statements were made as to these professors having German sympathies. It was not alleged that they were endeavouring to inoculate students with these views. But the position was uncomfortable, and finally the connection was severed. Later on Canada had the novel experience of a trial for treason. Mr. Emil Nerlich, head of an old established firm of importers of fancy goods, was charged with high treason; specifically, with aiding Arthur Zirzow, once a lieutenant in the German army, to escape from the city. Mr. Nerlich and his wife were afterwards charged with the same offence of aiding Zirzow and also with giving information to and trading with the enemy. Mrs. Nerlich was acquitted upon the ground that nothing had been proved against her except sympathy with the enemy, which was not an indictable offence. Mr. Nerlich was acquitted on the charges of giving information and trading with the enemy, and found guilty on the charge of helping Zirzow. But the conviction was quashed by a higher court, and a second trial resulted in an acquittal.

Papers whose German proclivities were pronounced and unmistakeable, such as the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* and *Fatherland*, were excluded from Canada. A more complicated question arose in the case of journals which endeavoured to give both sides of the question for the benefit of their readers, the bulk of whom were American citizens. When an article had a German complexion an outcry would arise in Canada for the exclusion of the paper from the mails. Nothing was done, and eventually the agitation regarding these papers died out.

It will be observed that the Parliamentary leaders were anxious to distinguish between the German people and their rulers, and to check racial prejudice against the Germans. As the war went on, racial feeling hardened. It was seen that the German people, misled by the plea that they were fighting in self-defense, and trained to obedience under despotic and military rule, stood behind their rulers. The distinction between Germans in their own country and Germans in Canada was not always clearly observed, and the task of those who sought to mitigate racial prejudice was difficult. Wherever Germans lived in Canada or in the United States, they paid to some extent the penalty of the crimes of their leaders in Germany, and the innocent sometimes suffered as well as the guilty.

This digression has interrupted the story of the work of Parliament, which it will be convenient here to resume. The regular 1915 session opened on February 4th; the mover of the address was Mr. W. G. Weichel of North Waterloo, a Canadian of German descent. He said that many Germans had left the Fatherland to escape the curse of Prussian militarism and military domination, "which has been weighing on Europe so heavily for many years." A second war grant was made, this time of $100,000,000; and now it was stated that the number of men whom it would be necessary to raise and equip was 100,000. In the three sessions: 1914, 1915, and 1916, the total of war grants was $400,000,000. It was explained by Sir Thomas White in his budget speech of February 11th, that most of the war expenditure will be met by borrowing; and this he justified upon the ground that the war was being fought largely to secure the undivided liberty and constitutional freedom of future generations. And it may be mentioned here that this policy was carried out, and that in the first two years of the war the public debt of Canada was increased from not quite $336,000,000 to more than $615,000,000. Some new taxation, however, was imposed. Proposals

of a radical kind had been made outside Parliament; for instance, the imposition of an income tax or a tax on land. No such departure was taken by the Minister of Finance at this time. He depended mainly upon Customs. An increase of seven and a half per cent. was made upon the general tariff and five per cent. on the preferential tariff. From these increased tariff taxes he expected to receive $20,000,000 to $25,000,000. In addition to this several special taxes were imposed, including a tax on the note circulation of the banks, upon the incomes of trust and loan companies, and upon the premiums received by insurance companies, also upon telegrams, railway and steamboat tickets, cheques and money orders. The postage upon letters was increased by one cent. From these special taxes the Minister of Finance announced that he expected from $8,000,000 to $10,000,000.

The Opposition, while supporting the money grant criticized the new taxation upon the ground that it was largely for the purpose of increasing the protection accorded to Canadian manufacturers. "This House," said the amendment moved by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, "is ready to provide for the exigencies of the present situation and to vote all necessary ways and means to that end, but it regrets that in the measure under consideration, duties are imposed which must be oppressive upon the people whilst yielding little or no revenue, and that the said measure is particularly objectionable in the fact that instead of favouring, it is placing extra barriers against Great Britain's trade with Canada, at a moment when the mother-country is under a war strain unparalleled in history."

The people did not seem, on the whole, to be keenly interested in the question of the mode of taxation, and the controversy rather declined than increased. The Canadian people have always been inclined to encourage free spending by their governments, and to bear taxation cheerfully—even to condone extravagance,—short of actual dishonesty. The war taxation was borne with

little grumbling, and no murmurs were heard as Provincial taxes were added to those levied by the Dominion, and to the large voluntary contributions made for the Patriotic Fund, the Red Cross, and other purposes.

It may be convenient here to anticipate the history of measures of taxation. As the war went on, it was found that the increasing expenditures would not be met without resort to new sources of revenue, and incomes and excess profits were taxed to an extent which a few years before would have been regarded as out of the question.

The discussion on the tariff revived the talk about the party truce. As a sort of counsel of perfection, the idea was advanced in the early part of the war that the parties should cease their strife until the war against the common enemy was ended. In part, the truce was kept, and at least the Government was not obstructed in the discharge of its duty. But the second war session, unlike the first, was marked by some sharp party fighting, and the tariff debate was of this character. The moving of the tariff amendment, a vote of want of confidence, was afterwards mentioned by the Minister of Public Works, the Hon. Robert Rogers, as a reason for holding "a war election," and this question of holding or postponing the election was a subject of discussion for many months.

The last general election had been held in September, 1911, so that two years would elapse before Parliament would expire by the effluxion of time. There were precedents for dissolving Parliament in less than four years, so that, but for the war, no great objection could have been raised to the holding of a general election in 1915. It was upon the relation of the election to the war, however, that the controversy turned. On one side it was said that the Government had the right to ask the people to approve of its policy in participating in the war. On the other side it was said that a general election would arouse hostility and bitterness and divide into two hostile camps a country that ought to be united for the purpose of carrying on the war. It was pointed

out that a Liberal and a Conservative who were hammering each other in a partisan way on Tuesday night could hardly be expected to stand together and make eloquent appeals for recruits on Wednesday. It was contended also that the ministers would need all their energies for carrying on the war, and ought not to waste them in defending their record and attacking their critics. One fight at a time was enough.

During the session of 1915, it was evident that the views of those who advocated a war election prevailed, for a measure was introduced and passed to allow soldiers at the front to cast their votes. But public opinion showed itself more and more strongly opposed to a war election, and as no one could predict the duration of the war, the opinion gradually gained ground that the life of Parliament should be extended. It will be convenient here to anticipate the course of events, and say that this action was taken in the session of 1916. The Prime Minister then moved that an address be presented to the King, asking for the extension of Parliament for one year, namely, to the seventh of October, 1917. This involved an amendment to the British North America Act, which could be made only by the Imperial Parliament. Subsequently that Parliament passed the necessary legislation.

The war brought to Canada a large volume of orders for munitions, horses, saddlery, clothing, and other supplies. Great industrial prosperity ensued; unemployment for a time ceased to be a troublesome problem; there were opportunities for large legitimate profits, and for some that were not legitimate. Charges were made in Parliament that middlemen had levied toll on contracts; two members of Parliament who were found to be interested in war contracts were rebuked by the Prime Minister, to whose party they belonged. War contracts were investigated by a Parliamentary Committee, by Sir Charles Davidson as a Commissioner, and later on by a Royal Commission composed of Sir William

Meredith, Chief Justice of Ontario, and Mr. Justice Duff of the Supreme Court. Some cases of "graft" came to light. But what was more important was the belief that very large fortunes were being made out of the war in methods that were not illegal, but were none the less wrong. When men were being asked to give themselves, and to risk their lives, it seemed monstrous that a few should be not only giving up no part of their profits but actually making huge profits out of the sacrifices of their countrymen and the needs of their country. It was urged that all excessive war profits should be taken for public purposes.

Closely related to this subject was the increase in the cost of living. In part this was inevitable, owing to bad crops, the scarcity of labour, and the vast demands created by millions of soldiers consuming food and producing none. But in addition to this there was a widespread belief that middlemen dealing in food were making use of the facilities afforded by cold storage to hold back food for the purpose of obtaining extortionate prices by creating artificial scarcity. The Dominion Government was asked to enquire into the matter, and promised to do so. Some went so far as to advocate that cold storage plants should be opened by the Government for the public benefit.

It will be convenient at this point to return to the progress of enlistment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. The first enlistment was not only voluntary but spontaneous, requiring no urgent solicitation; and for some time it was believed that all the recruits necessary could be obtained in this way. But the standard of requirement was raised from time to time until at last it was said that Canada's rightful proportion was half a million men. In endeavouring to reach this standard it was found necessary to carry on a vigorous campaign for recruits, holding meetings not only in public halls but at street corners and stopping young men on the streets. Reproaches were hurled at those who held

back, who were called "shirkers" and "slackers." Then it began to be said that some men or elements of the community were doing more than their share, and some less.

In June, 1916, an analysis of recruiting was made by a committee of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. This committee pointed out that in the early stage of the war, when small forces were raised hastily, the enlistments included many unemployed men, whose withdrawal did not greatly disturb economic life. But when the standard was raised first to 250,000 and then to 500,000 a serious disorganization of industry was threatened. Business concerns, said the committee, lost highly skilled employés, difficult to replace; and as the enlistment of married men was disproportionately large, their families became a charge upon the country, requiring the expenditure of immense sums in separation and patriotic fund allowances.

The figures of recruiting up to May 31st, 1916, were analyzed according to locality, occupation, and birth. The quota due by each district according to population in order to produce 500,000 men was compared with the actual enlistment.

	Quota	*Enlistment*
Western Ontario	44,000	28,000
Toronto	86,000	70,000
Eastern Ontario	53,000	34,915
Quebec	109,000	34,903
Maritime (Atlantic) Provinces	65,000	31,061
Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Extreme Western Ontario (west of Lake Superior) and Keewatin	60,000	68,888
British Columbia	27,000	30,709
Alberta	26,000	30,157

According to birth, the figures showed a large preponderance of recruits born in the United Kingdom, 180,000, or sixty per cent. The Canadian-born recruits

tracing their descent to the British Islands, were 85,000; the Canadian-born of French descent 12,000, and the foreign-born 18,000. According to occupation the figures refer to a somewhat earlier date, and to a total of 263,000. Of these 170,369, or nearly two-thirds were drawn from manual labour, outside of farming. Clerks numbered 48,777; professional men, 16,153; business men, 6,530; students, 4,238; farmers and farm labourers, 14,200; and ranchers, 2,844.

There are some obvious explanations for these differences. It was natural that the urban occupations should be more largely represented than farming. The cities and towns contain the greater part of the unemployed men, and also of men whose services could be dispensed with or replaced by female labour. In the farming districts, on the contrary, there was a chronic scarcity of labour, and the withdrawal of a farmer's son or a "hired man" might seriously hamper production.

It was also to be expected that those who were most closely connected with the United Kingdom should come forward first,—that is those who were connected both by race and by birth; that the next in order should be Canadians who were connected by race but not by birth; and that the French Canadians, who were connected neither by race nor by birth, should be last. The writer is here not attempting to argue the case, or to say what ought to have been done, but simply to explain the facts.

It was argued, it is true, that Canada's direct interest in the war, apart from friendship with England, was as great as that of England itself, and that those who went to the front from this country were defending the soil and the people of Canada. But while this was strongly contended, argument is not quite the same as realization; and a state of war was not realized in Canada as it was in England or France.

Geography still counts for something, and those who were thousands of miles away from the conflict did not

realize it as clearly as those who were within sound of the guns, or almost so. Yet the realization came, though more slowly than in Europe. There was the unusual spectacle of thousands of soldiers parading the streets. Many homes witnessed the sorrow and anxiety of parting, and on some days columns of the newspapers were filled with Canadian casualties.

The most serious question in regard to recruiting arose in the Province of Quebec. The French Canadians did not respond nearly as heartily as those Canadians who traced their descent to the United Kingdom. The comments were sometimes bitter. There was a party controversy over the situation. Conservatives tried to hold Sir Wilfrid Laurier responsible as the most influential French-Canadian leader. He made recruiting speeches, but his critics said he should have made more. Liberals said that the responsibility lay with the Government, which contained three French-Canadian members and which had been placed in power largely through the exertions of the Nationalists, who opposed all Canadian participation in wars outside of Canada. Both parties joined in denouncing Henri Bourassa, the leader of the Nationalists, who continued throughout the war to oppose Canadian participation and to make adverse criticisms of British policy.

But this controversy did not go to the root of the matter. The question was, what were the real sentiments of the people of Quebec? It is important because of the numbers and the probable growth of the French-Canadian population. In 1911, they numbered more than two millions out of a total Canadian population of 7,206,643. Notwithstanding the large immigration of the previous decade, practically none of which was from France, the French Canadians almost held their own, the percentage declining only from 30.71 to 28.51. In the thirty years from 1881 to 1911, the French-Canadian population was nearly doubled. With a similar rate of increase—and as it depends entirely on birth not on

OFFICERS OF LAVAL UNIVERSITY CORPS

immigration there is no reason why it should decline—there will be eight million French Canadians in Canada in 1961.

The relations of these people to the rest of the population of Canada and of the Empire are of vast importance.

What is their point of view? Without any persuasion or urging either by M. Bourassa on the one side, or by Imperialists on the other, the French Canadian would probably be opposed to participation in wars outside Canada, and would have little desire for any part in the Government of the British Empire, in foreign relations or in world affairs. This attitude may now seem strange, but a generation ago it was practically the attitude of all Canada. No one dreamed at that time of Canada sending a large army to Europe. Not quite forty years ago, when there was apparently a possibility of a war with Russia, there was some talk of Canadian volunteers, but they were regarded merely as adventurers, not as men fulfilling an obligation of citizenship.

Since that time the advance in Ontario and in the other English-speaking provinces has been rapid, and it has been accelerated by the large British immigration of the last fifteen years. Quebec remains where she was and where the rest of Canada was. She has been separated from the rest by difference of language. She has not been influenced by immigration. The Imperialist literature which has been circulated in Ontario and the West has not reached Quebec. The European mails, which bring tens of thousands of letters and newspapers to Englishmen, Scotsmen, Irishmen, and Welshmen in Canada, carry little or nothing to French Canadians.

Separated from England by race, French Canada has been separated from France by the fortunes of war and by the new political relation created at the Conquest. At that time, it was desirable from the British point of view. So it was when war broke out between Great Britain and France as a result of the Revolution. Quebec had been severed from the French monarchy. With

the French Republic it had nothing in common. The downfall of the throne, of the aristocracy, of the Church in France produced only astonishment and horror among the devout and conservative people of Quebec. And it was to the advantage of Great Britain that the people of Quebec should be divorced in sympathy from the people of Old France. Great Britain was then on the side of conservatism in Europe. The more conservative, even reactionary the people of Quebec were, the farther removed they were from all danger of sympathy with the Revolutionists of France. The more intense was their devotion to the Roman Catholic Church, the more they were severed from those who had declared war on that Church. Edmund Burke did more than any other man to create the British sentiment which brought Great Britain into war with France. Few things aroused his indignation more than the attack on the Church and the "dishonest, perfidious and cruel confiscation" of its property; and he warmly defended the Roman Catholic clergy "plundered, degraded, and given over to mockery and scorn." The devout and conservative French Canadian would have been a man after Burke's heart.

The French Canadian to-day is the same as he was in the days of the French Revolution. But Great Britain has swung around from Burke, Peel, and Castlereagh to Lloyd George. We fight to-day by the side of a Republican France which has called down on itself the anger of the Roman Catholic Church. We fight for, not against democracy; and upon our banner is inscribed virtually the motto of the French Revolution,—"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

The moral of all this seems to be the need for patience. A long process of education is necessary to bring the French Canadian to the point of view of his brethren. The war and the discussion of recruiting emphasized the difference between Quebec and Ontario, and the danger of friction. A movement was organized for the purpose of promoting a better understanding. One of the motives

was the desire to stimulate recruiting in Quebec; but there was more than this. There remained to be considered the relations between French Canadians and other Canadians in the period after the war, the period of nation-building, in which the vast areas of Canada were to be gradually settled and occupied by perhaps fifty million people. A quarrel between two sections of the people would prevent co-operation and imperil the future. The leaders of the movement resolved not only to try to prevent this calamity, but to seize the occasion to lay the foundations for a permanent good understanding. They laid out the plan on broad, simple lines. The danger lay in lack of knowledge, and this again was due to the lack of intercourse between the two peoples. A visit of a group of Ontario business and professional men to Quebec was the occasion of some very gratifying expressions of good-will on both sides. Prejudices and misunderstandings disappeared in a surprising manner. Superficially, these seemed to be only a series of social gatherings. But beneath this there was the serious purpose of fostering unity and patriotic sentiment and of removing a formidable obstacle to Canadian progress.

From the opening of the war until near the close of 1916, the office of Minister of Militia and Defence for Canada was held by Lieutenant-General Sir Sam Hughes, to give him his present title. His administration was constantly under fire, and was the subject of violent controversy. It would be out of place to review every matter of controversy in these pages, or to attempt to pronounce a final judgment on his record. He was an enthusiastic soldier, had taken part in the South African War, and had acquired considerable knowledge of military affairs. He is a man of abounding energy and courage, impulsive, fond of expressing himself in public, frank and brusque in his manner. It would be unfair to deny him a large share of the credit for the achievements of the first two years of the war, the raising of forces far beyond

any expectations that were held before the country was subjected to so severe a test.

It would be equally vain to deny that Sir Sam Hughes possessed in a high degree the capacity of irritating those with whom he came in contact, soldiers as well as civilians. They complained that he was high-handed, that he would criticize officers harshly in presence of their men, that he administered his department without reference to the wishes of his colleagues.

The difficulty came to a head about the time of the arrival of the Duke of Devonshire in Canada. The appointment of Mr. R. B. Bennett, M.P., as Director of National Service, of F. B. McCurdy as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of Militia, and of Sir George Perley as Minister of the Overseas Forces of Canada, all had a tendency to curtail the powers of the Minister of Militia. Sir George Perley's appointment was made on October 31st, 1916, and it was soon after this that Sir Sam Hughes broke with the Government. The control of the Canadian forces in England was one of the main points of difference. In the correspondence between Sir Sam and the Prime Minister, the former quoted Sir George Perley as having said, early in the war, when Sir George was High Commissioner to England, "You do not pretend, surely, to have anything to do with Canadian soldiers in Britain." In November, 1916, Sir Sam made a speech before the Empire Club in Toronto, in which he said that for the first year of the war, Canada had practically no control of the forces overseas, and that Canadian equipment was scrapped in England and replaced by inferior articles.

In essence, therefore, the quarrel was a conflict for power. The Minister of Militia claimed certain control over the forces in Britain, which was disputed, and he complained that he had suffered from intrigue and meddling in the affairs of his department. On the other hand, Sir Robert Borden said that the minister seemed actuated by a desire and even an intention to administer

International Press Photo

HIS EXCELLENCY THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K. G.,
G. C. M. G., G. C. V. O., ETC.
Appointed Governor-General of Canada in 1916

his department as if it were a separate department of the Government and that this had led to frequent and well-founded protests from the Prime Minister and his colleagues.

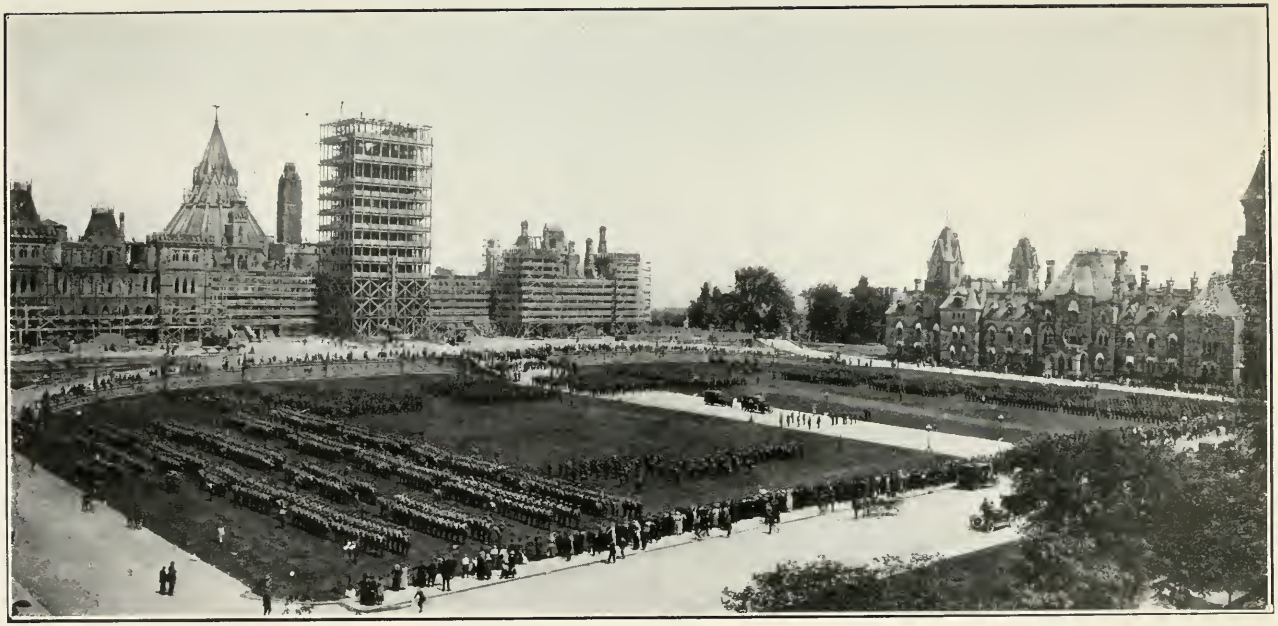
In his letter of November 9th, 1916, the Prime Minister complained of the tone of Sir Sam Hughes' letter of November 1st. The correspondence, however, was merely the evidence that the rupture was inevitable, the result of the contest for power which has been described. Sir Sam resigned and was succeeded by Sir A. E. Kemp, who had been Minister without Portfolio in the Borden Government.

When the Duke of Connaught was appointed Governor-General of Canada, there was a good deal of controversy as to the wisdom of placing a member of the Royal family in that position. Some hoped that it would quicken the devotion of Canada to the throne; some feared that it would encourage tendencies that were not democratic and were unsuited to the country. It must be said that the Duke of Connaught bore himself in such a way as to disarm criticism.

In 1914 it was announced that the Duke was about to leave Canada, although he had served only three years of his term. Upon this occasion the two Houses of Parliament passed an address expressing high appreciation of his conduct and services. Sir Robert Borden dwelt upon the efforts made by the Governor-General by travel and study to familiarize himself with the sentiments and aspirations of Canada. Sir Wilfrid Laurier emphasized the democratic simplicity which marked the life of this distinguished member of the Royal family.

Before the date fixed for his departure the war broke out, and the Duke of Connaught was asked and consented to prolong his stay in Canada. It was a fact of some importance that in the opening years of the war, the Governor-General was a soldier of experience and standing, whose counsel was of great value, and was freely though unobtrusively given. As the consultations in

which he took part were private, the exact nature of his advice and assistance cannot be determined, but all who came in contact with him bore testimony to his tact and courtesy as well as to his devotion to duty. In 1916, his term of office ended, he left Canada, having won the good-will of the people to a remarkable degree. He was succeeded by the Duke of Devonshire, a civilian who figured less prominently in the public eye, but who maintained well the traditions of constitutional government.



INSPECTION BY H. R. H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT OF THE 88TH, 89TH, AND 90TH BATTALIONS, C. E. F.

Ottawa, May 29, 1916

CHAPTER III

CREATING THE CANADIAN ARMY

THE War did not find Canada absolutely unprepared to take the immediate and preliminary steps necessary to place her in a state of defence. In 1913, the Secretary of State for the Colonies transmitted to the governments of the great Dominions certain memoranda drawn up by direction of the Oversea Defence Committee, outlining the steps to be taken by the naval and military authorities in case of the outbreak of war, or of the apparent imminence of such outbreak, owing to strained relations with some foreign power. These memoranda were accompanied by a suggestion that the Dominion Governments might advantageously draw up similar schemes adapted to their own individual requirements.

The Canadian Government submitted these recommendations to the Interdepartmental Committee, composed of the expert officers of the Naval and Militia Departments sitting together. This Committee in turn reported that a conference should be held of deputy ministers and representatives of the different Departments which would be primarily affected by a declaration of war, and on January 6th, 1914, the Prime Minister accordingly gave orders for the holding of such a conference, the first meeting being held on January 12th, with Sir Joseph Pope, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, as Chairman.

The possible contingencies calling for careful and systematic preparation were many and various. First and foremost, of course, were preparations for the mobilization of our military forces to defend our own country. Provision had to be made for the detention of all enemy ships and of British ships carrying contraband of war;

for the prohibition of the export of warlike stores required for our own defences or intended for the use of the enemy; for the censorship of cable and wireless messages, and for the closing of certain wireless stations, and the proper guarding and supervision of the others; for the preparation of ciphers and secret codes; for the transportation of troops by land and sea; for the buoying of certain channels, and for the removal, possibly, of buoys and marks from certain others; for the examination of ships entering and leaving port; for the prevention of espionage in or about ports, arsenals, dockyards, depots, and other points of military importance; for the preparation in advance of all the necessary Orders-in-Council and regulations, for special instructions to some hundreds of officers; for the preparation and transmission of sealed orders (to be opened only in case of war) to a very large number of important officials; and generally for the co-ordination of the activities of the various departments so as to prevent, so far as possible, overlapping and confusion.

The Conference included the following members: the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; the Military Secretary to the Governor-General; the Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence; the Deputy Minister of the Naval Service; the Deputy Minister of Justice; the Commissioner of Customs; the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries; the Deputy Postmaster-General; and the Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals,—with the Director of Military Operations and the Director of Gunnery as joint Secretaries.

Each department was required to prepare a scheme of development adapted to its own peculiar conditions, and these schemes were subsequently co-ordinated and incorporated into the *War-Book* which was practically completed in July, a week or two before war was declared.

Orders for the adoption of the precautionary scheme were issued on July 29th, 1914. Parties were warned for the detention of shipping; others for the protection

of wireless stations and cable landing places on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Naval commanders at Halifax and Esquimalt received orders to prepare for the transportation of censorship staffs and defending forces. Collectors of Customs were instructed to get ready to enforce the secret instructions with which they had already been provided. Officers in command of the various Districts were directed by telegraph to make arrangements for the movement of certain regiments and batteries at early notice, these instructions to be kept secret, and the movements to be carried out under the guise of ordinary practice exercises. Certain units of the Permanent Militia were recalled from the training of non-permanent units in order to take charge of the detention of shipping, which was considered at this crisis to be the more important duty. All necessary steps had to be taken for the institution of an examination service to be enforced against ships. Certain officials at the Department of Militia and Defence were ordered for duty day and night, and arrangements were made for instant communication with all officers of the Department at any moment if necessary. On August 1st, the examination of shipping was put into force and officers of the military and naval services ordered to co-operate for this purpose.

Rumours, of course, began to crop up luxuriantly. A German cruiser was reported off the West Coast of the United States and Mexico, and the *Rainbow* was ordered to keep herself available for the protection of merchantmen in general, and grain ships in particular, going south from the British Columbian coast. The *Dresden* was reported to be off New York, and, the following day, she and the *Karlsruhe* were reported in the neighbourhood of St. Pierre. Guns were sent to certain ports to guard against possible attacks by armed gun-boats. The Royal Naval Reserves were called out on August 2nd. The question of the removal of certain houses and buildings which might find themselves in the line of

fire of certain forts, was taken into consideration. The crisis grew more acute. The Dominions were notified to be on their guard against possible attack in advance of any formal declaration of war. Certain radio-telegraph posts were dismantled; at others the transmission of all private messages was stopped. Guards were ordered for the protection of the arsenal and rifle factory at Quebec. Companies of local militia were detailed to watch the grain elevators at Port Arthur and Fort William. Pickets and cavalry patrols were called out with a view to defending against possible malicious injury the canal systems of the St. Lawrence, Welland, and Sault Ste. Marie. A wild rumour was started that several Austrian vessels were meditating an attack on Glace Bay, but this was subsequently found to be without foundation. It was almost with relief that a cable message was received on August 4th saying:

"War has broken out Germany."

The suspense was ended, but by that time the preparations were so well under way, and the conviction that it was unavoidable so strong that the actual message caused little stir in the departments principally affected at the moment, amid the rush of work and multiplicity of detail which required immediate attention. All officers commanding Divisions and Districts throughout Canada were, of course, notified immediately, but it might be said that the wheels had already begun to turn, and the immediate effect was only a little speeding up of the machinery.

The wireless telegraph stations on the East Coast were closed at thirteen points; the Kingston radio-telegraph station and staff taken over by the Naval Department; all stations on the Pacific Coast, with a few exceptions, were also closed. The guards at all the various ports, cable stations, and other points of military importance were stiffened up and reinforced. The dry docks at Lévis, Kingston, Esquimalt, Port Arthur, Montreal, and Collingwood called for special protection.

Live-wire defences were erected round certain radio-telegraph stations which were still kept in action. The appearance of mysterious æroplanes began to be reported from various points, especially in the neighbourhood of the Capital, and the Intelligence Department began to get busy acquiring information concerning the possibility of raids by German emissaries, or German sympathizers from across the border. All these various measures and precautions were, however, only incidental to the actual calling out of the military forces of Canada for the general defence of the Empire.

War broke out on August 4th, 1914, at midnight. This is the official date of the commencement of hostilities. But of the condition of affairs just previous to that date the Prime Minister of Canada has spoken in words which are already historical:

"The storm," he said, "broke suddenly and the country was confronted with responsibilities greater than it had ever faced. The situation demanded action; it demanded immediate and unhesitating action beyond the authorization of the law as it then stood; it was impossible for the Government to wait; and by Order-in-Council we promulgated necessary measures in advance of the meeting of Parliament. The people of Canada acquiesced loyally in those measures and our course has been ratified by the necessary legislative sanction."

On the 1st of August, the Prime Minister had sent a secret telegram to the Home Government offering, on behalf of Canada, to supply an expeditionary force in case need should arise. The British authorities still clung to the hope that hostilities might yet be averted and expressed their gratitude for the offer, but declined its immediate acceptance. On the 6th of August, came a formal acceptance—war having been formally declared in the interval. That very day the raising and equipping of such expeditionary force was formally authorized by the Dominion Government. On the 7th of August, the Colonial Office telegraphed on behalf of the Army Council

that one Division would be a suitable composition of the said expeditionary force. This Division was to be organized as closely as possible on the lines laid down in the Expeditionary Force War Establishments, 1914, with certain modifications due to a shortage of howitzers and machine guns.

On August 13th, the Secretary of State for the Colonies telegraphed to ask on what date the Division would be ready to embark, assuming that transports were available? For the moment, it was impossible to send a definite reply, as the services of certain units of the Permanent Force (which at first were to be included in the Expeditionary Force) were required for instructional purposes at Valcartier, and additional units were being organized.

Less than a week later General Sir Sam Hughes cabled to say that 25,000 Canadian soldiers would be ready to cross the Atlantic before the middle of September. These consisted of one Division, and—of troops surplus to Divisional requirements—one cavalry regiment, two batteries of horse artillery, and one infantry battalion. The "Divisional requirements" called for arms, etc., as follows: Cavalry, Artillery, Engineers, Signal Service, Infantry, Army Service Corps, Army Medical Service, Army Veterinary Service, Ordnance Corps, Army Pay Corps, and Postal Corps. Not included in this list were Army Chaplains and Nursing Sisters. This was followed by an offer from Sir Sam Hughes of a number of batteries of machine guns, to be accompanied by "splendid gunners and outfit." This offer was on behalf of "several wealthy gentlemen." The guns were to be mounted on armour-trucks for service abroad.

Then came a request for Lines of Communication units, including such details as Divisional Supply Column (Mechanical Transport), Reserve Park (two-horsed wagons), Divisional Ammunition Park, General, Stationary, and Clearing Hospitals, Railway Supply Detachment, Army Pay Corps Details, and Depot Units of

Supply. The answer was that the units required would be furnished complete with equipment and transport as requested, and ready to embark by the last week of September.

By September 3rd there were at Valcartier Camp 32,000 men, although only 25,000 had been called out. Across the river at Lévis were the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, over 1,000 strong and chafing at the delay in embarkation. At Halifax was another battalion awaiting transport to Bermuda. At various stations throughout the Dominion were some six or seven thousand more men under arms. The volunteers for active service amounted to nearly two hundred thousand.

Now, in war, the "wastage of war" for officers and men was calculated to average seventy per cent. during the first twelve months of a campaign, which meant that during 1915, the field troops would require, in addition to their "first reinforcement," a further supplement of 12,000, or about 1,000 a month. That meant that by the end of 1915 some 36,000 (including Line of Communication Units) would have been absorbed by the "First Division." Already there were signs that the recruiting movement *at that date* was such as to give occasion for serious consideration. A Second Contingent was coming into being, but the exact form which it would take could not be foreseen. Another Division properly organized and self-contained was apparently an impossibility owing to the lack of field artillery and howitzers.

When the Canadian Expeditionary Force began to assemble at Valcartier it was intended that it should consist of 24,000 men, including a first reinforcement of ten per cent. and administrative units for duty on Lines of Communication. But officers and men far in excess of this total came crowding in, and—although many were weeded out—there remained a surplus which, as the best and simplest way out of the difficulty, it was determined to despatch to England with the rest of the Force. It was estimated that the total embarking

strength would thus amount to from 31,000 to 33,000 men.

It took just four weeks to convert a picturesque valley, lying among low rounded hills, dotted here and there with farms, and looking generally like a peaceful illustration from an advertisement of the Swiss Federal Railways, into a huge military camp, bounded on one side by four miles of rifle targets crowded so close together that it was a mystery to the civilian how the recruit could know which he was supposed to fire at,—and provided with buildings, streets and water supply, sewerage and lighting systems, and with a population of 35,000 men. The construction work at Valcartier Camp began on August 8th, 1914. When the Prime Minister visited the camp a month later he found 12,000 men receiving two hours rifle practice every day of eight hours at a rifle range which had been constructed in ten days. There was a complete water supply system, with chlorinization plant, a fire protection service, two hundred taps for ablution tables, seventy-five baths and sanitary conveniences. There was electric light, electric power, and telephone service. The sewerage system included over 28,000 feet of drain-pipes laid below the frost line. Open drains for surface drainage were dug all round the camp. Railway sidings and loading platforms were busy day and night. Woods had been cleared away and fences and useless buildings razed to the ground. Other existing buildings had been renovated and repaired out of all knowledge, and put to purposes for which they had never been intended by their original owners. Army Service Corps, medical stores, pay and transport offices, hospitals for sick horses—all sprang up like mushrooms. Two large bridges were built and some fifty smaller ones. Points of danger were girded round with four miles or so of barbed wire. "I venture to say," remarked the Prime Minister, "that the organization and arrangement of Valcartier Camp has not been excelled in any part of our Empire since the commencement of this war."

Assembled in this camp was an army more than half as large as the British force commanded by Wellington at Waterloo. Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry, Engineers, Army Service Corps, Army Signalling Corps, Army Medical Corps, Ammunition Columns, Supply and Transport Service were all being organized and trained for work which was new to the great majority. All had to be equipped, fed, and finally transported overseas. In the period which has elapsed since the declaration of war we have become accustomed to big figures, until operations in the field and at home which were considered impossible have now become almost commonplace. But the fact remains that any prophet who would have dared to foretell in 1913 what Canada managed to accomplish in a few weeks of the following year, would have been laughed to scorn.

In 1913, the general feeling among Canadians was that the possibility of their country ever becoming seriously involved in a European war was so remote as to be scarcely worth consideration. In the first place the Dominion could rely on her geographical position to keep her out of complications, and in the second on the Monroe Doctrine. Why keep up a fleet while we had the British Navy behind us? Why trouble about a serious army while we had a friendly United States to the South? European wars had for the average Canadian much the same kind of detached interest that school children feel in reading about the Crusades. The Canadian would spring to arms readily enough were his own country attacked, but who was to attack it?—except our neighbours across the boundary, with whom we had been at peace for a hundred years, and with whom we were in many ways in closer touch than we were with the mother-country across the seas? As for the latter, her own leading statesmen seemed to pay little attention to the rumours of war, and to what were regarded as the croakings of the alarmists, such as Kipling and Beresford, and Lord Roberts and other advocates of compulsory Mili-

tary service. Wherefore the average Canadian regarded speculations about war as unpractical and unbusinesslike.

Then the change came in a few hours. Canada awoke to find herself already at war. What is more, she seemed to feel it—in a sense—perfectly natural that she should be at war. She had always intended to go to war, if certain circumstances should call for it, only she didn't know it. Her statesmen had told her, many of them, that the idea was absolutely ridiculous. She had believed them, and other wise men, until she flatly refused to envisage the possibility of such a situation. War on a large scale was for Canada a fantastic dream—until she was awakened suddenly by the roll of great guns and rubbed her eyes and knew that she had mistaken the dream for the reality, and the reality for the dream. And then she sprang to arms!

The men who knew nothing of war, and the men who knew but little of military life, except under peace conditions, were suddenly called on to throw aside all other work and tackle a job which was, to most of them, absolutely new and unfamiliar.

How they did it will only be appreciated when the kaleidoscopic flashes and coruscations of events of to-day have faded into the background and blended into a perspective where they will have ceased to dazzle, and assumed their proper focus; when that day comes the men who organized Valcartier will get their due credit.

When the first Division sailed, Valcartier was tidied up and turned into an ordinary training camp, which purpose it now serves quite satisfactorily. But it will always be a landmark in the history of Canada.

On the 7th of October, 1914, orders went out to Officers Commanding Divisions and Districts throughout the Dominion for the mobilization of a second Overseas Contingent. On October 9th, the Colonial Secretary cabled his thanks on behalf of His Majesty's Government, and promised that as soon as the first contingent arrived in England and had been examined, the details of the

Photo: Underwood & Underwood

THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL (PRINCESS LOUISE) PRESENTING A SILK UNION JACK TO THE CANADIAN FORCES IN ENGLAND

new contingent would be carefully considered and communicated to Ottawa.

There were difficulties in regard to the composition and organization of this Second Contingent which had not existed in the formation of the First. There was no lack of volunteers. From Victoria and from New Brunswick, from the Kootenays and from Winnipeg came fervent appeals to be allowed to add to their quotas or to raise new quotas,—there was a congestion of volunteers which must be relieved or serious discontent would follow. But the provision of artillery, rifles, and equipment generally was a serious problem, and the British Government was not yet in a position to supply the necessary training quarters and instructional officers.

The general plan of enlistment already in operation could easily be adjusted, and there was no question about the officers and men available. Sir Robert Borden summed up the situation in an official statement. The first concern of the Canadian Government was, naturally, the defence of our own territory, including ports and harbours. For this purpose there were about 8,000 men under arms, and serving on outpost and garrison duty in mid-October, 1914. In addition to these it was determined that, so long as the War Office should deem it advisable, Canada would keep continuously in training and under arms, 50,000 men.

A first instalment of a second Expeditionary Force, numbering 10,000 men, would be despatched to England as soon as arms, guns, and equipment could be provided. Thereupon additional men would be enlisted, so as to keep the requisite number continuously under training. This process to be continued from time to time.

It was anticipated that the first force of 10,000 men would be despatched in December. At the end of the month of October the Army Council cabled suggesting that the Second Canadian Contingent should be organized so as to form with the balance of Canadian troops then in England a second Canadian Division, complete with

proper proportion of Line of Communication units. The grand total of units necessary to complete amounted to 15,272 men, 4,765 horses, 58 guns, and 16 machine guns. The total of the First and Second Contingents was over 45,000, not counting reinforcements necessary to maintain its numbers and efficiency upon commencement of participation in active operations. Reinforcements were calculated at a yearly rate of seventy-five per cent. of the total forces engaged.

Early in November, 1914, the War Office cabled that after three months of experience it had been shown that reinforcements should be provided on the basis of twenty-five per cent. per month. This meant that the First Contingent would require from 3,000 to 4,000 men per month; when the Second Division joined it the number would be raised to between 6,000 and 8,000 men per month besides 300 per month for the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry. Hence the forces would consist of:

Forces already despatched, including regiment garrisoning Bermuda	33,000
Forces on garrison and outpost duty	8,000
Forces training in Canada	50,000
	91,000

As soon as the Second Contingent went forward, 17,000 more men were to be enlisted, making a total of 108,000 men, and this process was to be repeated as occasion demanded.

The Second Contingent was ready to start for England —so far as Canada was concerned—by the end of January, 1915, but the necessity for providing proper transportation and training quarters on the other side obliged the Home authorities to take it over in instalments, and it was the end of April before the force was safely across. The total overseas forces then amounted to 89,333, making, with the units of active militia in active service, on garrison and outpost duty in Canada,

and the Permanent Force, a grand total of 101,560,—meaning that an army almost equal to the total forces of Napoleon and Wellington at Waterloo had been organised in eight months in a country that never expected to have any need for a great army.

The War Office conveyed its heartfelt thanks to Canada for the work the Dominion had done hitherto and suggested that His Majesty's Government would accept with deep gratitude even a larger force than that outlined in Sir Robert Borden's speech of April 10th, 1915. In fact, to quote the words of the late Lord Kitchener: "It is difficult for us to place a limit upon the numbers of men that may be required in this devastating war. No numbers which the Dominion Government are able and willing to provide with arms and ammunition would be too great for His Majesty's Government to accept with deep gratitude."

On the 15th of June, 1915, Mr. Bonar Law, on behalf of the Army Council, wrote suggesting that it would be advantageous, when the 2nd Division took the field, to join the two Divisions into an Army Corps: an arrangement which it was believed would be in accordance with the wishes of the Canadian Government. In order to complete the corps organization the following units were asked for—provided the Canadian organization could supply them:

1 Battalion, Infantry.
2 Fortress Companies, Royal Engineers.
1 Corps Headquarters Signal Company
2 Cable Sections.
1 Motor Air Line Section.
1 Corps Troops Supply Column.
1 Depot Unit of Supply.
1 Railroad Supply Detachment.
1 Ordnance Travelling Workshop.

The answer was, on the whole, in the affirmative, although there was some doubt on minor technical

points. The question of equipment was taken up immediately and energetically.

On the 26th of November, 1915, the Secretary of State for the Colonies wrote on behalf of the Army Council recommending the reorganization of corps troops of the Canadian army in the field to form the nucleus of a 3rd Division. It was suggested that the 1st Battalion of the Royal Canadian Regiment, the 42nd Battalion, the 49th Battalion, and the 1st Battalion of the Princess Patricia's should be constituted a 7th Canadian Infantry Brigade. Further divisional troops and units were called for and certain rearrangements were necessary to meet altered conditions. The Prime Minister replied that the Canadian Government was on the point of offering a 3rd Canadian Division and was in entire agreement with the arrangements proposed. The last units called for to complete the contingent were reported ready to embark early in April, 1916.

In January, 1916, the authorized military establishment of Canada was raised to 500,000 men. On the 19th of that month, Canada offered to the British Government a 4th Division for service at the Front. The three component infantry brigades were to be made up of battalions selected from those already in England and the "divisional troops" to be organized in Canada directly after the units required to complete the 3rd Division had gone overseas.

This offer was accepted with much gratification by the Army Council, subject to the reservation that it would be necessary to continue to utilize the personnel of battalions in England as reinforcements until others were ready to replace them. Later it was announced that four additional battalions could be accommodated in England in the third week in February and four more early in March. Early in April, nearly all the battalions accepted had left Canada, and nine additional battalions were offered by the end of May and ten in June, giving

altogether twenty-five units at the Front, and a similar number in depots in England.

It might be worth while here to glance at the Memoranda concerning the work of the different branches of the Department of Militia and Defence between the date of the outbreak of war and the latest time for which returns are available at the time of writing these notes.

Previous to the war, the military organization at Headquarters at Ottawa was designed to deal with a permanent force of about 3,000 and to train about 50,000 men for ten or twelve days during the year, under peace conditions. In two years over 370,000 Canadians had taken up arms. Over 200,000 had been fully equipped and transported overseas. At the time of writing this, Canada's enlisted forces exceed by 225,000 the combined forces of Meade and Lee at Gettysburg. The ships that carried the First Contingent, carried the greatest military or other body of mankind that ever put to sea. The Canadian Expeditionary Force overseas largely exceeds that which had once been calculated as the probable contribution of Great Britain to the forces engaged in any European War, and the enrolled forces of the Dominion at the present date are very considerably greater than the entire establishment of the British Army (as authorized by the Army Act) before the war—even including the British and Indian troops in India.

As might be expected, the growth of the Department of Militia and Defence has been commensurate with the rapid expansion of the military forces. To-day this organization is greater than was the British War Office before the war, its expenditure is twice as great; its personnel has been increased from about three hundred to nearly ten times that number.

An entirely new Headquarters organization has been established in London, in the shape of the Canadian Records office, where—among other things—are kept precise details of the condition and whereabouts of all the

sick and wounded. There is a free telegraph and cable service in connection with it, and every facility is afforded to anxious enquirers.

The First Military Member of the Militia Council is the Chief of the General Staff, Major-General W. G. Gwatkin, C.B., whose duties include advice on questions of general military policy; the organization of the military forces for active service; the military defence of the Dominion; the collection of intelligence; the training of the military forces and their employment when on active service; education of officers; control of telegraph and signalling services; selection and administration in the field, at manœuvres, and at camps of instruction, of the general staff; and lastly, preparation, jointly with the finance member, of estimates for the above services. Under him are: The Director of Military Operations, including Military Policy, offensive and plans therefor, collection and distribution of intelligence, distribution of military forces, etc.; the Director of Training and Staff Duties, including defence schemes, and training of all arms; the Director-General of Musketry, including the organization and administration of rifle associations; the Assistant Director of Signalling; and the Assistant Director of Intelligence.

After the outbreak of war, the Director of Military Operations and the Director of Military Training both went overseas. Their duties fell on the Chief of the General Staff who carried them out with the help of the Assistant Director of Intelligence and of the Director-General of Musketry, respectively.

The several divisions of the Adjutant-General's Branch include the Director-General of Mobilization, who is responsible for War organization, preparation of War establishments, mobilization, formation and disbandment of units, placing units and drafts of all arms under orders for embarkation, etc.

The duties of the Assistant Adjutant-General include recruiting and enlistments; control of the Active Militia

MAJOR-GENERAL W. G. GWATKIN, C. B., C. M. G.

and C.E.F. on guard duty in Canada; discharges; work relating to the pay and military discipline of returned invalid soldiers; discipline and military law; administration and command of corps of military staff clerks and Staff Orderly Service; administration—with other branches—of training camps, questions of furlough, etc.

In the Adjutant-General's Branch are also the Director-General of Medical Services, the Assistant Director of Dental Services, and the Chief Clerk in charge of the Record Office.

This last office was organized at the beginning of the war under the title of the Casualties Division, and, with the exception of the Director, the whole of the staff has been engaged from time to time to meet the requirements of the work. On the departure of the troops from Valcartier Camp a dozen clerks sufficed to begin the work of writing an index card for each officer and man, and in completing nominal rolls for each unit as the attestation papers came in. By the time these had all been received for the First Contingent, the staff had been increased to twenty. Then the troops proceeded to France and the casualty lists began to come in—principally by cablegrams arriving after 6 p.m. This entailed the engagement of a special staff of typists for night work.

The next-of-kin are informed of the casualty by telegram in every instance, and the telegraph companies report to the Record Office when delivery is made. This is to obviate the chance of any next-of-kin hearing of a casualty through the public press before receiving notification of the same. After St. Julien and Langemarck the staff were working till 3.00 and 4.00 a.m. each day and handling not less than 500 messages *per diem.*

As other contingents proceeded overseas the personnel has been still further augmented until to-day it numbers over six hundred. Enquiries come in from all parts of the Dominion at the rate of two hundred *per diem* and these have to be promptly answered. This is exclusive of special enquiries about casualties. Over three hundred

thousand index cards have been written and filed in alphabetical order giving names and next-of-kin of every officer and man in the C.E.F. Daily lists are received by post furnishing information regarding men in hospital. A Statistical Section tabulates information relating to the number of men enlisted in different provinces, towns, etc., also as to the number belonging to different nationalities, towns, etc. Discharge documents are recorded and filed alphabetically. All enquiries received from the soldiers' next-of-kin are regarded as second only in importance to the reporting of initial casualties, and these ordinarily average about 300 daily, many of which are dealt with by cable. This latter number is considerably increased at a time when any great action is in progress.

Apart from the current recording of individual information and the specific duty of reporting casualties to next-of-kin, the Record Office has maintained detailed statistics covering the C.E.F. as regards religion, age, nationality, former military service, trade or occupation, and place of enlistment, and further tabulates information covering all honours and awards granted to members of the Force, together with details of the reason therefor.

The responsibility for carrying out the provisions of Orders-in-Council relating to missing men is also one of the functions of the Record Office, and after thorough investigation fails to reveal any foundations for hope that the soldier may still be alive, the necessary steps are taken officially to presume death for all official purposes. Ordinary legal certificates of death are issued for all ranks of the C.E.F. who are finally non-effectives, but are later followed by a parchment certificate of death which is signed by a member of the Militia Council and primarily designed for retention by the near relative of the deceased soldier.

The correspondence involved in dealing with the daily work of the Record Office amounts to approximately 2,500 telegrams, letters, and files daily, which are dis-

tributed among the six internal branches. In addition to the correspondence carried on with the public, the Record Office is called upon to deal with an increasing number of inter-office and departmental enquiries, which in many cases necessitate reference to the soldiers' documents.

The Quarter-Master-General is responsible for the organization, administration and technical training of all transport, remount, railway supply, barrack, ordnance, and veterinary services; patterns of clothing, equipment and ordnance stores; holding and issuing all military stores; arrangements for postal services, etc., etc.

The organization under the Q.M.G. includes: (1) the Director-General of Supplies and Transports, among whose many responsibilities are included all questions in connection with transport and conveyance of stores, and the provision, repair and administration of transport vessels, also all questions in regard to railways and supply of railway stores; (2) a Director-General of Clothing and Equipment who is also Principal Ordnance Officer, and therefore responsible for the receiving, storing, and accounting for and distribution of all clothing, necessaries, stores, guns, ammunition, vehicles, and all other warlike stores except those of a technical medical nature. The grand total of the strength of the Canadian Ordnance Corps at the outbreak of war was 295. In April, 1916, it had increased to 534.

The Mechanical Transport Section, including a School of Mechanical Transport instruction, is also included in the department of the Q.M.G.

Under the Master-General of the Ordnance are:

(1) The Director of Artillery, charged with all matters connected with guns generally, as well as sites and design of coast defence works;

(2) The Director-General of Engineer Services, whose work since the war has developed into two main branches:

(a) The mobilization and training of the various units and drafts of Engineers for overseas.

(b) Engineer Services—construction and maintenance of military works and buildings as in peace time, with the addition of housing of troops mobilized in Canada in winter, and fitting up their training areas in summer.

(3) The Superintendent Dominion Arsenal.

(4) The Chief Inspector of Arms and Ammunition.

(5) The Chairman Small Arms Committee.

The Branch of the Accountant and Paymaster-General has five Divisions. The number employed in each on three different dates, viz.: August 1st, 1914; January 1st, 1915; and April 1st, 1916, is as follows:

	August 1, 1914	*January 1, 1915*	*April 1, 1916*
Accounts Division.....	14	25	50
Pay Audit Division....	10	25	70
Separation Allowance and Assigned Pay Division.....	0	42	250
Stores Audit Division.	11	13	15
Pension Division.....	0	0	7
Total.....	35	105	392

The sudden demands made upon all these various departments were met in a manner that will only be appreciated when the public attention is no longer focussed on details, when it is far enough away not to be distracted by the aspect of individual trees and can survey the forest.

Four companies of the Canadian Army Service Corps were mobilized at Valcartier when the First Division was in process of organization. All arrangements for provisioning and supply were complete on the arrival of the troops. Over a hundred special trains and more than thirty steamships transported them without accident or loss. Clothes, horses, vehicles, stores of all kinds, all ordnance depots from Winnipeg east were depleted to pour into Valcartier. More stores and equipment were shipped over in huge quantities to be

ready for the arrival of the troops on Salisbury Plain. There are sixty-six separate articles in a Canadian soldier's equipment. During the first six weeks of the war the Q.M.G. and the Ordnance Department were called on to supply such items as the following: 100,000 forage caps; 290,000 pairs of boots and shoes; 70,000 rifles; 70,000 bayonets; 240,000 jackets and sweaters; 235,000 pairs of trousers. Accompanying the troops sent to England were 21 thirteen-pounder quick-firing field-guns; 96 eighteen-pounder quick-firing guns, 10 breech-loading sixty-pounder guns, a large number of machine guns, motor lorries, transport wagons, and vast quantities of ammunition. All this, it must be remembered, was merely a first instalment of what has been done since.

It was on January 12th, 1916, that the authorized military establishment of Canada was raised to 500,000 men. Over 370,000 officers and men have joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force; there are 12,500 more in Canada on garrison duty. Overseas, outside England, are about 100,000 more, in England or on the way there, about the same number; in Canada over 100,000; and these figures deal with effectives. The force, as constituted at the time of the present writing, consists of an Army Corps of four divisions, a brigade of cavalry, line of communication units, units allotted to overseas garrisons, and troops in England and in Canada.[1]

[1] The Canadian Infantry is now divided into twelve regiments: 1st Central Ontario, 2nd Central Ontario, Manitoba, British Columbia, East Ontario, 1st Quebec Regiment, 2nd Quebec, New Brunswick, West Ontario, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Nova Scotia.

Relative proportions of religious denominations to April 30th, 1918: Anglican, 41.0 per cent.; Methodist, 12.7; Presbyterian, 21.6; Roman Catholic, 14.7; Baptist and Congregationalists, 5.5; Jews, 0.3; Others, 3.6.

In February, 1918, there were overseas, roughly, 250,000 men, of whom 140,000 were in France, and 116,000 in the United Kingdom.

The relative proportions of the personnel according to country of origin in 1918 works out as follows: Canadian (English), 40.44 per cent.; Canadian (French), 4.46; English-born, 33.33; Scotch, 10.28; Irish, 3.47; Welsh, .98; other British possessions, 1.00; United States of America, 3.29; other countries, 2.75. Total Canadian-born, 45 per cent. British Empire outside Canada, 49.06.

The Canadian troops now in England are located mainly at Shorncliffe and at Bramshott, the two Canadian training Divisions. The principal administrative offices are in London. Other units are scattered at various points in England from north to south.

The troops within Canada itself are distributed in the Military Districts numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 13; and at the following camps: London, Niagara, Borden, Barriefield, Petawawa, Valcartier, Aldershot, Hughes, Vernon, Sydney, B.C., and Sarcee.

Up to January, 1916, the Army Service Corps fed and quartered 87,569 troops, including British Army Reservists and Belgians and 2,891 Montenegrins, and 80,000 troops mobilized in Canada. Between February 1st, 1915, and January 1st, 1916, troops numbering 87,659 with the addition of 2,891 Montenegrins were transported overseas, requiring 157 special trains and 94 steamships for the service. About 3,500 Army Service Corps had proceeded to the front already. Nearly 20,000 horses had been purchased in Canada and most of them transported overseas. The Postal Service was organized and working satisfactorily. Hospital clothing had been provided for the various hospitals and field ambulances. There was a main ordnance depot at Ottawa and subsidiary depots at Halifax, St. John, Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, London, Winnipeg, Calgary, and Victoria—also at Ashford, England. The personnel of the Ordnance Corps was increased in a year from 322 to 529. During 1916 over 125,000 troops in Canada were supplied and over 80,000 transported overseas. Various defensive measures have been adopted by the Ordnance Branch along the coasts.

The work of the office of the Director of Contracts was suddenly increased from ten to fifteen times, and this had to be disposed of by a staff absolutely undermanned at first, and never large enough, for a year or more, to cope fully with the requirements. The Accoun-

tant and Paymaster-General in his report of December, 1915, says in part:

"To the layman the work of paying an army may seem a simple task, and it would be simple if it consisted merely of paying men a fixed rate once a month as in the case of large corporations. Owing to the fact, however, that the Government assumes a sort of paternal charge over the soldier; clothes, feeds, houses and pays him, and also in a way provides for his family, the work is not as simple as it might appear; and when desertions and changes are extremely numerous, as was the case for the first few months, and regimental officers, including the paymaster, are more or less inexperienced in their duties, there is bound to be care and worry for those in charge of the work. Add to this the difficulties resulting from having to issue part of the soldier's pay in Ottawa to his dependents and the balance to the soldier himself in England or France, and the work becomes extremely complicated and the correspondence enormous, as the pay officers at Ottawa and in London have to keep each other advised of the state of each soldier's account. For this purpose it is necessary to open a ledger account with each soldier and also one with each dependent. Some idea of the work may be had from the number of cheques issued from the pay office at Ottawa, which now total eighty thousand a month." This report was made in December, 1915; the number of cheques issued a year later was nearer 200,000.

Early in May, 1915, the War Purchasing Commission took over the buying operations from the Militia Department with the result that—to quote the words of the Director of Contracts—"a much larger volume of business has been disposed of more quickly, more easily, and to better advantage than before."

The formal organization of the Canadian Expeditionary Force in England was a matter of evolution. The First Contingent on Salisbury Plain was under General Alderson, who subsequently commanded it in action. Then

came the removal to Shorncliffe, and the arrival there of the Second and subsequent Contingents, and Brigadier-General MacDougall assumed command of the Canadian forces encamped there for training. His status, however, was merely that of Camp Commandant, as Shorncliffe is a British Military District, under command of a British general. Later on a Canadian, Major-General Steele, was appointed by the War Office to the command of the whole military district and Brigadier-General MacDougall became officially "General Officer Commanding Canadians in training." This left at Shorncliffe a "Staff of the Shorncliffe Imperial Command" (including the Canadian troops) under Major-General Steele with a number of Imperial officers. Subsidiary to this was the staff of Brigadier-General MacDougall, including chiefs of various administrative services and departments, Medical, Veterinary, Pay, Ordnance, etc.

It was also found necessary to establish a central Headquarters on a very extensive scale in London with Major-General Carson, C.B., at its head, as "Special Representative and Agent in the British Isles and at the seat of war, for the Minister of Militia and the Department of Militia and Defence in Canada." Under him were the following administrative heads, appointed from time to time as the need for their services arose:

(1) Director of Medical Services.

(2) Director of Pay and Record Services, having under him two chief officers: (*a*) officer in charge of Records and (*b*) Chief Paymaster.

(3) Director of Recruiting and Organization.

(4) Director of Veterinary Services.

(5) Director of Supply and Transport.

(6) Chief Ordnance Officer.

(7) Director of Chaplain Services.

(8) President of Claims and Pensions Board.

To General Carson and his staff the Headquarters in France reported direct, as did the Canadian Department of Militia and Defence.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL J. C. MACDOUGALL

In the early days of the war recruiting had to be carried on, naturally enough, by the recruiting staffs of the active militia. After that, Headquarters ordered that the Canadian Expeditionary Force should undertake its own recruiting. Commanding officers of the overseas battalions were instructed to appoint recruiting officers and send out recruiting sergeants, each in his own territory. Civilian efforts were encouraged. Patriotic meetings were held at various centres, attractive programmes including music and songs were prepared, and good speakers were invited to forward the cause. The best and most effective work was done and the highest enthusiasm excited by the men who had actually been at the Front and could speak from personal experience. But by degrees it was found that the existing machinery was cumbersome and inefficient, and its results hardly commensurate to the effort and expense which had been dedicated to it by private organizations.

Sir Thomas Tait, President of the Citizens' Recruiting Association of Military Division No. 4, Montreal, in his report on the work of this body mentions that private citizens responded generously to their appeals for funds, office room, stationery, etc. "Meetings were organized in every part of the Division . . . the pulpits of nearly all the churches were thrown open to our speakers, and many addresses were given at moving-picture entertainments . . . noon hour meetings were held in all the principal labour establishments. . . . Recruiting appeals were made also by means of pamphlets, of which nearly 300,000 were sent by mail to the country districts, or distributed by hand throughout the city. Posters and streamers were also issued. . . . Placards were placed in many industrial establishments announcing that positions would be held open for men joining the overseas forces. . . . We also circularized employers of labour asking them for the names of employees who might be considered fit for service, and as a result we came into possession of the names of nearly 10,000 men. . . . It will be seen

that our work, in the main, has consisted in the promotion of a public patriotic spirit, rather than in the actual gathering in of recruits. In consequence we cannot define in actual figures the results of our efforts. They are in some measure at least represented by the fine regiments from this Division already overseas, or in course of enrolment. Recognition of the fact that the chief recruiting efforts must be made by the men who are themselves going overseas led to the contribution by this Association to regimental funds of no less a sum than $10,705. By this means the work of the officers and men in recruiting was much facilitated."

From Nova Scotia came a report by Mr. George S. Campbell, President of the Nova Scotia Recruiting Association. He divided the movement into three stages:

"First: When war broke out a certain number of men at once volunteered their services. These were partly men who had taken an active interest in the Militia, and therefore felt that they should be the first to answer the call to arms; partly young men who had no special ties or responsibilities, and who enlisted from a spirit of patriotism or sheer adventure; and partly men who happened to be out of work, and were glad to find employment in fighting for their country. These men did not require to be urged to enlist by any recruiting agency, and so without any special effort on the part of the military or civil authorities, Nova Scotia supplied her quota of men during the first year of the war.

"Second: As the war went into the second year, the great task confronting the Empire became more apparent, and the Government of Canada called for more men. The response to this second appeal was not so spontaneous as was hoped for and for a time recruiting lagged in Nova Scotia. This condition of affairs created some concern amongst a number of the citizens of Halifax. . . . Investigations revealed the fact that there was no adequate machinery for bringing before the young men of the Province our vital interest in the war, the urgent

need of men, and the personal responsibility which lay at each man's door to do his individual share of the fighting. It was found that the military authorities had indeed appointed officers for recruiting in each county, but in many cases these officers simply sat in their offices waiting for recruits to offer themselves. It became evident that . . . an active campaign of education must be entered upon. . . . A public meeting of the citizens of Halifax was held on the 21st of July, 1915 . . . and led to the formation of the Halifax Recruiting Association. . . . The campaign was opened by a great public meeting in the Armouries. . . . The movement was a success from the start; about two hundred men enlisted, and it was followed up by meetings in every part of the city and county of Halifax. The example of Halifax had the effect of arousing interest throughout the entire Province, and the Halifax Committee was asked to provide speakers for meetings all over Nova Scotia. This showed the necessity for a wider and more comprehensive organization, and at the request of the military authorities the Nova Scotia Recruiting Association was formed, with recruiting committees in practically every county. . . . The Provincial Executive keeps in touch with the county committees, and gives them all necessary assistance, supplying speakers, music, posters, etc., when asked to do so. . . . A Provincial recruiting officer was appointed, and competent officers selected for the counties, who attended the meetings of the Association, and enlisted the men who were moved by the patriotic appeals of the speakers. . . . The Association made it a point in all cases to work in co-operation with the military authorities, recognizing that recruiting is essentially the business of the Military Staff, the function of the Association being to back them up as far as possible. . . . Latterly it has become apparent that the most effective work can no longer be done by patriotic speeches, but by addressing printed appeals to young men, followed up as far as possible by personal canvass.

To that end efforts are being made to secure an approximate census of the men of military age in each district of the Province. As the men willing to enlist become absorbed in the various units, recruiting naturally becomes more difficult, and we have now reached a point where in our opinion new methods are required, otherwise the business interest of the Province will be seriously affected.

"Third: That brings us up to what may be called the third or present stage. Up to June 30th, 1916, Nova Scotia has enlisted for home and foreign service about 22,000 men. . . . Another 150,000 men are required in Canada to complete the complement asked for by the Prime Minister. . . . Our Province is naturally expected to supply her share of these, which would be about 8,000 men. It is our deliberate opinion that to procure these men under our present haphazard methods would seriously cripple the business of the Province. A large proportion of our men are engaged in coal-mining, steel-making, and munition work, industries all absolutely necessary to the prosecution of the war. It is not in the public interest that many of these men should enlist, but in spite of the fact that we make it a point not to approach them, a certain number cannot be prevented from joining the colours. If there were any competent authority to point out to them that they were doing their bit at home they would be content to remain at work. The same remarks apply to men of special technical qualifications who are filling important positions, and who cannot be replaced. . . . We think the time has come when the Federal Government should take hold of the whole recruiting problem and put it on a proper basis. The first important thing is to find out how many available men we have and where they are. This can only be done satisfactorily by enacting compulsory registration for men of military age. If this were done no further compulsion might be necessary. . . . If after registration more men were required, it

would be necessary to decide what trades and occupations should be exempted, and for that purpose competent commissioners might be appointed for each Province. A special badge should be then provided for men exempted for special or medical reasons. We are of the opinion that if the Government were to adopt some such measure, it would be warmly welcomed by the great bulk of our population, who wish to see Canada doing her full share in defence of our common Empire, and doing it promptly. . . . For these reasons we consider that change in our system is urgently required."

From Western Canada came another report, made by the Hon. Chief Justice Mathers, President of the Manitoba-Saskatchewan Association, Military District No. 10.

This District comprises western Ontario (taking in the Territory of Keewatin and the Thunder Bay and Rainy River Districts) and the Provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan (headquarters in Winnipeg); while District No. 11 covers the Province of British Columbia (headquarters in Victoria), and District No. 13 the Province of Alberta (headquarters in Calgary). Chief Justice Mathers gives the following figures:

"The 500,000 men to be raised in Canada represent approximately thirteen per cent. of her male population according to the census of 1911. The male population of Western Canada or that part of the Dominion included in Military Districts Nos. 10, 11, and 13, is 1,059,687 and thirteen per cent. of this is 137,358. Up to July 31st, 1916, Military District No. 10 had recruited 72,439 men of 75,930 required; Military District No. 11 had obtained 33,864 though its share was only 32,710; and Military District No. 13 had secured 32,074 men or 2,956 more than its quota, which was 29,118. . . . District No. 10 has a large proportion of enemy origin and also a great many other foreigners within its bounds. These, with few exceptions, will not be accepted by the military authorities. The 4,110 which Districts No. 11 and

No. 13 have over their share more than offsets the 3,419 which District No. 10 still lacks. In the aggregate the three Districts have contributed 138,377 as against 137,758 required, as their share of the 500,000. . . . Up to October, 1915, the units which had been and were being raised for overseas service in Military District No. 10 had been authorized at the larger centres. In order to stimulate recruiting in the rural parts of the District, the Militia Department, early in November, divided the Province of Manitoba and Saskatchewan into four 'areas' which were designated as follows: 'Area A,' Southern Manitoba; 'Area B,' Northern Manitoba; 'Area C,' Northern Saskatchewan; and 'Area D,' Southern Saskatchewan. The military authorities undertook to billet and train recruits for the winter in any town or village which could raise twenty-five men or more. This undertaking proved to be a popular one and resulted in the securing of a great many men during the winter; these men formed the nucleus of five battalions. . . . The fall of 1915 witnessed the real beginning of an active campaign for recruits. The streets of the cities were alive with recruiting officers and everywhere throughout the towns, villages, and rural districts were found men in the King's uniform looking for men and inviting every man met 'to come and do his bit' . . . The success which had attended the efforts of the Commanding Officers of the units authorized previous to the first of the year, in the way of securing men, supplemented by the decision of the Dominion Government, in December, to raise Canada's contribution in defence of the Empire to 500,000 men, resulted in the authorizing of some twenty-three additional overseas battalions between the 10th of January and the 10th of March of this year in Military District No. 10.

"Private citizens all over the West have co-operated most heartily with the military in gaining recruits. At first no difficulty was experienced in filling the ranks of every unit authorized, but little by little the supply of

men who were willing to yield to moral suasion became scarcer.

"Throughout the winter of 1915-16 there were upwards of twenty units being recruited in the city of Winnipeg alone. Each of these units had an office, with recruiting officers in charge, and met with very discouraging results. Early in February, 1916, the Winnipeg Board of Trade invited one hundred prominent Winnipeg citizens to meet and consider the situation. The result was the formation of the Citizens' Recruiting League, with Chief Justice Mathers as President.

"The league went actively to work, and the result was reflected in the recruiting returns of nearly 9,000 recruits in M.D. No. 10 for March. There has been a gradual falling off, week by week, since, and although the League has kept pegging away, it has arrived at the conclusion that there are but few men left who will respond to anything short of legal compulsion.

"Citizens' Recruiting Leagues were also formed in Fort William and Port Arthur, Portage La Prairie, Brandon, Carman, Crystal City, Russell, Regina, Prince Albert, and Saskatoon, with the object and for the purpose of stimulating recruiting and assisting the military authorities.

"Other organized bodies of citizens which have zealously worked not only to obtain recruits but to look after those who have returned are the Army and Navy Veterans' Association and the Returned Soldiers' Association, of which his Worship Mayor Waugh is president.

"In August, 1915, through the efforts of Dr. Ellen Douglass of Winnipeg, the Winnipeg Women's Volunteer Reserve was organized with the object of training women so that, in case of an emergency, they might be able to handle the work back of the firing line, or serve in any other capacity that the military authorities might consider practicable . . . the activity of its members in patriotic entertainments has been a stimulant to recruit-

ing in Winnipeg. Through a Registration Bureau, maintained by the Reserve, many women in the city have indicated their willingness to do work now done solely by men, and thereby enable them to enlist for active service."

After recounting many individual instances of bravery at the front and self-sacrifice at home on the part of Westerners, Chief Justice Mathers goes on to say: "All this is very splendid, but there is the other side of the picture. There are numbers of families well-to-do and otherwise, with from one to five or six eligible sons, not one of whom has enlisted, and who bluntly say they don't intend to do so. Others in order to save their faces attended the Officers' Training Classes and upon receiving a certificate provided themselves with an officer's uniform in which they proudly strutted about. They had no intention of ever becoming connected with the overseas force, and only wore the uniform because they liked that style of dress, and it fooled the public into believing that they were on active service. To put a stop to these poltroons disguising themselves as soldiers a military order was issued.

"Others again have permitted their sons to join the Army, but have at the same time seen to it that they were so placed that their precious hides would never encounter the danger of being punctured by a German bullet. For this latter class it may be said that they are happily not numerous, nor are they confined to one particular party."

These different reports illustrate the risk of calculating the "quota" due from any particular section of the country merely on a basis of census returns of population. A considerable percentage of male Nova Scotians of military age are engaged in iron or steel work, and it is not considered desirable that such should enlist. In Manitoba a considerable percentage of men of military age are foreign-born or of enemy origin, and very few of these will be accepted by the military authorities.

Now the recruiting position on April 10th, 1915, showed that the following forces were under arms:

Overseas, 1st Contingent and Reinforcements	35,420
In Bermuda, Royal Canadian Regiment	982
In St. Lucia, Detachments for Garrison	100
In Canada, and on seas, 2nd Contingent	22,272
Reserve Infantry and C.M. Rifles	27,079
Recruited and organized for overseas service but not yet mobilized	3,500
Total overseas forces abroad and at home	89,353
In addition in Canada units of active militia in active service and outpost duty	9,777
Permanent Force	2,430
Grand total	101,560

During the winter of 1915-1916 recruiting was carried on under the billeting system. Any small centre big enough to raise twenty-five men or more retained them throughout the winter, a special allowance being made for the support of the men. The idea was that the recruits should spend some months among their own friends and relations, and that during that time the latter should have some opportunity of observing the rudiments of military training and its effects at first hand. The system was quite successful so far as it went.

During eight months of 1916, 153,913 men enlisted. The total number of recruits per month is as follows:

Total number of recruits for	
January, 1916	29,212
February, 1916	26,658
March, 1916	32,705
April, 1916	23,289
May, 1916	15,090
June, 1916	10,770
July, 1916	8,522
August, 1916	7,267
	153,513

There were many reasons against the adoption of conscription in Canada. The most obvious one, probably, is the risk of withdrawing from an "undermanned" country the men who are actually necessary to carrying on the work of that country. In the House of Commons, two weeks after the announcement of the intention to increase Canada's military establishment to 500,000 men, the Prime Minister used these words:

"I realize that 500,000 men is a large force for us to undertake in Canada; and I realize further that the national strength of Canada must be maintained, and that in proceeding with our effort to increase our forces in Canada we must have regard to the agricultural and industrial interests of this country. Canada in all the elements of the national life must be kept strong and we shall have regard to these considerations."

This meant a co-ordination of work between the civil and military agencies, and for that purpose, by an Order-in-Council of September 22nd, 1916, the designation "Director-General of National Service" was substituted for "Director-General of Recruiting." Sir Thomas Tait was appointed to this post "without compensation." Under him were "Directors of Recruiting" appointed to each Military District. The Director of Recruiting was "to have supervision of recruiting within his Military District, and therein to co-ordinate the work of all agencies, civil and military, including regimental institutions connected with recruiting.

"To visit from time to time any locality within his Military District in which recruiting is in operation, and to make himself acquainted with the nature and importance of the various industries (agricultural, manufacturing, mining, lumbering, fishing, or others) which are being carried on in such locality."

"To take into consideration the character and importance of the employment in which would-be recruits may be engaged; and to notify the Commanding Officer whether it would be advisable to enlist them or not."

In cases where the recruit's services were more valuable to the State in the employment in which he was engaged he was not to be taken without the authority of the Adjutant-General.

Badges were to be issued to men who had been honourably discharged; to men who had offered for service and who had been rejected; and to men who had been refused upon the ground that their services were of more value to the State in their present employment than if they enlisted for service in any of H.M. forces. Penalties were provided for fraudulently or without proper authority issuing or wearing such badge or imitation thereof.

Generally speaking, the best recruiting agent had been found to be the civilian, holding some prominent and responsible position, who had two or three sons or other near relatives serving at the front. Returned officers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force sometimes erred through excess of zeal and allowed their resentment against "slacking" to run away with them. Unorganized competition led to the multiplication of offices and complication of machinery; and hence it was proposed to establish one depot in each city which was to be unattached to any unit, expenses to be borne by Headquarters. The advocates of compulsory registration adduce the examples of Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand.[1]

They suggested that lists of employés of military age not "starred," i.e., absolved from military service, should be kept posted up by all employers. Of course in order to raise men by this scheme the creation of Boards or Commissions to determine claims for exemption would have been necessary.

In September, 1916, Mr. R. B. Bennett, M.P. for Calgary, succeeded Sir Thomas Tait. A year later Mr.

[1]The National Register in Great Britain gives the name, age, dependents, occupation and measure of skill in other work of every male and female between the ages of 15 and 65. In New Zealand, of males only, between the ages of 17 and 60.

Bennett resigned in his turn, and on September 20th, 1917, he referred in the House of Commons to his work as Director-General of National Service, in the following terms:

"At the initial meeting . . . a resolution was passed that a man-power inventory should be taken and that the signing of cards which were sent out should be compulsory, and that a penalty should be provided for their not being signed. The resolution, which was passed before Sir Thomas Tait resigned, was very explicit upon that point. Those in authority, however, thought that could not be done, and we were compelled to endeavour as best we could to create an atmosphere sufficient to induce the people voluntarily to sign the cards. In order to create that atmosphere, letters were sent to members of Parliament, senators, members of the local legislatures, labour unions, clergymen, boards of trade, fraternal organizations and practically 150,000 representative men throughout the country. Public meetings were held, advertisements were inserted in the newspapers and the first week of the year was proclaimed National Service Week. It is only fair to say that the response was much better than might have been reasonably expected, and no one would hesitate to describe, except in the warmest terms, the spirit of co-operation and sympathy displayed by all those who were appealed to at this time. The result was that, by this voluntary effort, a very large number of cards were signed and returned. I ventured to point out at that time in public addresses, that this was the last great voluntary effort on the part of the Government, and that the response as I have said was everything that could be expected. The time for filling in cards was extended, but no penalty was provided, and the Government did not think it advisable to make it obligatory to complete the cards. It is highly important, nay, absolutely necessary that there should be at all times created and maintained in this country a proper atmosphere in relation to this great

conflict. The atmosphere can only be obtained by appealing ,through concrete means, to the sentiment and reason of the people. It was believed that the carrying on of a campaign of thrift, a campaign in relation to the saving of money and food and other matters of that kind would have the desired result. I urged when the enthusiasm of the people was apparent that a general campaign of this character should be organized and vigorously prosecuted. For reasons best known to those in authority the matter was not taken up at that time, but it was taken up later on. The results have to some extent justified the effort, late though it was. The enthusiasm of the people by that time had in some measure waned. When the cards came in arrangements were made to classify them, and the classification was carried on in a most comprehensive manner. I fancy perhaps very few people have an adequate appreciation of the work that was done. . . . The return of the cards gave the following results:

Total number of cards received		1,549,360
Divided as follows:		
Viséed complete cards	1,342,755	
Incomplete cards	97,640	
Blank cards	108,965	
Total		1,549,360

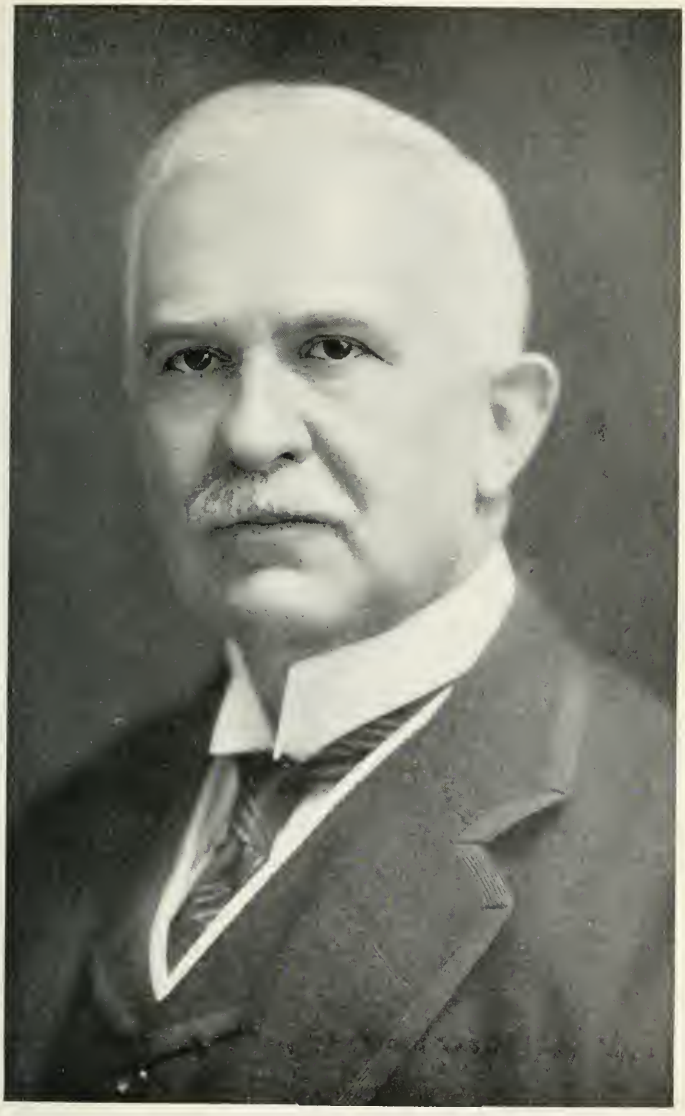
MILITARY PROSPECTS

In non-essential occupations	286,976
Farmers	183,727
Skilled shipbuilding, munition and mine workers	4,660
	475,363

On September 26th, 1916, the Prime Minister reported that in view of the unexpected length of the war, of the unprecedented efforts being exerted by Canada, and of the expenditure necessarily involved in the organization, maintenance, equipment, and direction of the overseas

forces, it was desirable that there should be a "Minister of Overseas Military Forces of Canada" to be responsible for the administration of the military forces of Canada in the United Kingdom and on the continent of Europe. The said minister was to reside and discharge his duties in London, to negotiate on the part of the Government of Canada with His Majesty's Government in all matters connected with the Government, command and disposition of the overseas forces, and to make such arrangements as might be advisable for co-ordinating their operations and services with those of His Majesty's troops.

On October 31st, 1916, the Honourable Sir George Halsey Perley, Acting High Commissioner in London, was appointed Minister of Overseas Military Forces from Canada in the United Kingdom, without salary. He continued in office for a year, resigning on October 12th, 1917, and was succeeded by Sir A. E. Kemp, who had himself resigned the office of Minister of Militia in Canada.



International Press Photo

THE HON. SIR EDWARD KEMP, K. C. M. G.
Minister of Militia and Defence, November, 1916, to October, 1917
Appointed Minister of the Oversea Military Forces of Canada, October, 1917

CHAPTER IV

CONSCRIPTION IN CANADA

THE history of conscription in Canada is practically the history of Canadian politics for 1917 and part of 1918. True, Canada heard conscription talk in Quebec years before the Great World War, but it was the fear of conscript armies and navies, not their proposal, that was the subject of debate. When the Laurier Navy Bill was before the Commons, prior to Sir Wilfrid's being swept out of office in 1911, the Nationalist leaders in Quebec told the habitants that a Canadian navy meant a conscript navy and that their sons would be "disembowelled for the Empire." But to the minds of the majority of Canadians conscription was only a name, only a heritage of autocratic kingdoms, never to be thought of in Canada, never dreamed of as the greatest political issue since Confederation. Even after the war was in full swing it was generally agreed that all Canadian soldiers should be volunteers. The conscription issue which later developed in Britain was at first but faintly reflected in Canada. Some military men urged it in a quiet way, perhaps because they saw the immensity of the struggle, and perhaps out of the spirit of pessimism born of those cruel days when the Hun was ruthlessly advancing on his career of conquest. Some thoughtful people argued for the principle afterwards known as "selective draft," because they saw men going into khaki who should have stayed at home, and slackers at home who should have been in uniform. But until the year 1917 was well advanced conscription voices were as voices crying in the wilderness.

As the size of the task for the suppression of German Kultur sank into the Canadian mind, so did the conscription sentiment grow. The slacker element themselves were a walking argument for the principle of the

system. Then in 1915 came the illuminating debates on conscription in the old land, punctuated now and then by that insistent call for men and more men. Canadians began to realize that conscription was not the prerogative of the autocrats or the military caste; but that it was a really democratic thing, economically just in that it put each and every man in a position best to serve his country, and equalized to some extent the sacrifice.

Almost coincident with the calling to the colours of the first draft in Britain came Premier Borden's New Year's message for 1916, stating that Canada would be called upon to contribute 500,000 men to the allied cause. Though the message was not so worded, the utterance came to be taken as a pledge. Recruiting started again with renewed vigour; the country seemed fairly combed for recruits; but, though all kinds of spectacular methods were used, when the totals were made up from time to time it was seen that the "pledge" was far from being redeemed. Then it was that conscription talk began to assume serious proportions. The leaders of the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress, with their fingers on the public pulse, and perhaps alarmed at the headway the agitation for conscription was making, asked Premier Borden about the Government's intentions. The Premier's reply is worth more than passing notice since it was his first official mention of the subject. He said: "You have asked me for an assurance that under no circumstances will conscription be undertaken or carried out. As I stated to you at our interview, I must decline to give any such assurance. I hope that conscription may not be necessary, but if it should prove the only effective method to preserve the existence of the State and of the institutions and liberties which we enjoy, I should not hesitate to act accordingly."

The enlistment figures up to early in 1917, as revealed later in the same year, showed how far short Canada had come of the half million men promised under the voluntary system. Until then Canada had sent 326,000

men overseas, or with reservists, men who joined the allied forces or the navy, about 360,000 men had left our shores. In February, 1917, the total Canadian force on the fighting front in France numbered 130,000. During the year ended May 31st, 1917, the total enlistment in Canada was only 85,306. In the same period the casualties alone were 74,792, and the total casualties for the war up to May, 1917, were 99,693. During April and May, the total enlistments were 11,790, and for the same period the casualties were 17,399. In other words, Canada early in 1917 needed a hundred thousand men, and these were coming at the rate of fewer than six thousand a month, which, at that rate, would take a year and a quarter to get the required number. Early in 1917, it was apparent to all that the system of voluntary recruiting was not adequate, and as the weeks went by fewer and fewer recruits presented themselves. In this connection not a little criticism was levelled at Quebec, and out of this criticism momentous issues were to follow. Much of this criticism was of course made for political purposes, but the following comparative statement of total enlistments up to May 15th, 1917, showed clearly that Quebec was far behind the other provinces in her quota of men:

Province	*Enlistments*
Ontario	173,078
Quebec	45,277
Maritime Provinces	38,200
Manitoba and Saskatchewan	79,779
Alberta	35,477
British Columbia	40,264
Yukon	2,327
Total	414,402

One critic pointed out that in proportion to population Quebec had only contributed 32 per cent. of her quota of the half million; the Maritime Provinces 58 per cent.; Manitoba and Saskatchewan 112 per cent.;

Alberta, 102 per cent.; and British Columbia, 137 per cent. The same critic figured that had Quebec done as well as Ontario the Canadian army in the spring of 1917 would have amounted to 508,805 men. Another example of the figures with relation to Quebec is seen in March of the same year, when the Montreal military district produced 292 recruits and the Quebec district 81, bringing the totals to 36,282 and 8,141, respectively. The combined total of these two districts was not half the number obtained in the Toronto district alone, and fell far short of the total in the Kingston-Ottawa district. Military experts early in the year figured that Canada needed at once 70,000 men to keep four divisions in the field, and for five divisions which had been planned 84,000 men were required.

On Thursday, January 18th, 1917, Parliament assembled for what proved to be the most momentous session in the half-century of Confederation. Little did the members realize that before the House dissolved parties would be split asunder and men who had heretofore been held up as examples of extreme partisanship would be joined in a Union Government. The session started with very little display of party feeling or the slightest indication of the political transformation that was to come. Though conscription became the main theme of debate, not a hint of it was given in the Speech from the Throne. The Speech simply recited the fact that during 1916 the enlistments had numbered 165,000 and that the aggregate of the enlistments since the beginning of the war was nearly 400,000. Mention was also made that the First Ministers of the Dominions were to attend a series of special and continuous meetings of the War Cabinet in London "to consider urgent questions affecting the prosecution of the war." The debate in reply to the Address was not spectacular, and few references were made to conscription. J. A. Descarries, member for Jacques Cartier, speaking from the Government side in seconding the motion for the adoption of

the Address, and perhaps indicating the mind of the Government at the time, said the people of Quebec did not fear conscription. It would not be put into force. Parliament would not approve of conscription because there was no demand for it from the people. His words show that as late as January 22nd, 1917, the thought of conscription was remote from the minds of those authorized to speak for the Government.

"Mr. Speaker," he said, "the imperious needs of the struggle have suggested to certain individuals and to certain newspapers the possibility of the Government establishing obligatory military service. Should I say that the Rt. Hon. Prime Minister and many of his colleagues have refused to consider the suggestion and have stated that the Government had given the subject no thought. I believe, in any case, Mr. Speaker, and I think I am voicing the opinion of the majority of the honourable members in stating that the constitution of the country forbids sending our soldiers to fight outside of Canada, without special legislation being enacted in this House, and that no such legislation altering the very basis of our constitution would be enacted without its being first submitted to the people of Canada. No, Mr. Speaker, there can be no question of conscription. Obligatory enlistment is not needed. The people of Canada have given noble proof of their loyalty. Freely and voluntarily, four hundred thousand men have already answered the call. If they are required, one hundred thousand more will follow of their own free will."

The Prime Minister seemed to concur in the point of view of Mr. Descarries when in his speech on the Address he congratulated "the Mover and Seconder of the Address upon the very admirable speeches which they had made in the discharge of the duty devolving upon them to-day," but in the course of his remarks he laid emphasis on the fact that the Canadian Expeditionary Force had had 70,263 casualties, approximately one-fourth of its strength.

During the debate, however, several of the supporters of the Government showed that they were prepared to consider the question of conscription. "Let my honourable friend [Mr. Macdonald] and his leader and his colleagues," said Mr. H. H. Stevens (Vancouver), "support the National Service propaganda, and then perhaps conscription will never be necessary. I hope it will never be necessary in Canada. I hope we will be able to fill the bill without having anything in the nature of conscription." Mr. W. A. Boyes (South Simcoe) remarked: "If the effort in connection with the National Service fails and it becomes necessary to fill the place of the boys who are fighting in Flanders, I am prepared, when the time comes—and it may not be far distant—to support conscription in this country." Mr. W. F. Maclean (South York) at once forecasted conscription and a Union Government. "I believe," he said, "that the day has come when about the first thing to do is to support the Militia Act. It may be that we shall have to come to conscription in this country. . . . If we are to have conscription we ought to have behind us, supporting it, a united people, a united Parliament, and a united Government."

Early in February, the Prime Minister left for Great Britain; and during his absence the Press debated the question of reinforcements for the front with more vigour and at greater length than ever before. In the English-speaking provinces the disposition seemed more and more to blame Quebec for the falling off in recruiting, while representatives from that province placed the blame at the door of the Government, stating that Quebec had not had a fair chance and had never been given proper leadership. Hon. P. E. Blondin, Postmaster-General, stung by the imputations that Quebec had not been given proper leadership, left his cabinet position and, accompanied by Major-General Lessard, tried to raise a battalion in that province. His attempt, though an earnest and genuinely patriotic one, subsequently

proved to be a failure. He did not obtain enough men or one battalion; in fact fell a little short of a total of three hundred.

In April, two events occurred which in some measure prepared the Canadian people for the drastic principle of compulsory service. The battle of Vimy Ridge, though a glorious victory, brought sorrow to thousands of Canadian homes and further depleted the Canadian reserves. Then again Canada got an object lesson in conscription from the United States, where with comparatively little debate the House of Representatives passed the Selective Draft Bill by 399 votes to 24, and the Senate by 81 to 8.

In the Canadian Press emphasis was laid on the action of the United States, and most of the articles printed were not slow in applying the lesson to this country.

The Prime Minister returned to Canada on May 15th, to a land waiting anxiously for a declaration of policy. Three days later he made his historic announcement in the House of Commons that he would introduce a Conscription Bill. The occasion was unique. The cramped quarters in the Victoria Memorial Museum, the temporary home of Parliament, were filled to overflowing. Though Sir Robert deemed it his duty to take up much time with a record of the doings of the War Cabinet, members and the crowded galleries hung expectantly on every word. But when, with great solemnity and yet with more than customary vigour he announced the intention of the Government to back up the men at the Front by means of a draft law, the enthusiasm of most of his audience broke loose. Even the galleries joined in the applause. Many of the Liberal members pounded their desks as lustily as any on the Conservative side. Portions of the Premier's speech are worth placing in this record:

"It is apparent to me," he said, "that the voluntary system will not yield further substantial results. I hoped that it would. The Government has made every effort within its power so far as I can judge. . . . I

believe that the time has come when the authority of the State should be invoked to provide the reinforcements necessary to sustain the gallant men at the Front who have held the lines for months, and who have proved themselves more than a match for the best troops the enemy could send against them, and who are fighting in France that Canada may live in the future. . . . I bring back to the people of Canada from these men a message that they need our help, that they need to be supported, that they need to be sustained, that reinforcements must be sent them. . . . I have promised in so far as I am concerned that this help will be given. I should feel myself unworthy of the responsibility devolving upon me if I did not fulfil that pledge. . . . Therefore it is my duty to announce to this House that early proposals will be made on the part of the Government to provide by compulsory military enlistment on a selective basis such reinforcements as may be necessary to maintain the Canadian army in the field as one of the finest fighting units in the Empire. The number required will not be less than 50,000 and will probably be 100,000."

There was one man in the Commons who did not permit himself to be carried away by the enthusiasm and patriotic display. The veteran Liberal leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, patiently listened with no sign on his countenance revealing what he thought of the proposal or the attitude he would assume towards it. His reply to the Prime Minister was brief and non-committal. He said: "Whenever that policy is made known to us we shall receive and consider it in the same spirit that we have determined since the outbreak of the war toward all the proposals of the Government, and that is, to give them due and fair consideration, reserving to ourselves the liberty of true British subjects to discharge our duties in a way we consider they ought to be discharged."

The Prime Minister's announcement and Sir Wilfrid's rather vague rejoinder started a political revolution. At once there were signs that Canada was divided into two camps, conscription and anti-conscription. Leading Liberal papers did not wait for the voice of their party leaders, and even the Liberal Toronto *Globe* remarked: "No true patriot or friend of liberty will shrink from the sacrifice. Canada can do not less and be true to herself." Such sentiment in favour of the course of the Government was pretty fairly reflected by the Liberal Press generally. Some officials of the Trades and Labour Congress came out flat-footed in opposition to the proposal, but in the main the only serious objection to conscription came from Quebec. Nightly there were anti-conscription parades in Montreal and other Quebec cities, followed in some cases by riots and clashes with the police. The word conscription was used by some agitators to fan the flames of racial feeling, but only with partial success. When the future historian looks back at those rather exciting days in their proper perspective, he will probably conclude that Quebec on the whole exercised good sense and restraint.

But what will Laurier do? The question was on everybody's lips. Would he side with Quebec or would he align himself with the Prime Minister and present a united front to the Hun? Not a sign or a word escaped from the old Liberal leader. Some astute political observers remarked, after hearing his words in appreciation of a speech delivered by the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, British Foreign Secretary, in Ottawa late in May that Sir Wilfrid would support the draft. On that occasion, almost excelling himself in oratory Sir Wilfrid said: "You will report to the people of England, to the people of Europe, to the people of the whole world that we Canadians stand to-day prouder of the British allegiance than we were three years ago."

But the country did not have long to wait. On June 11th, the Bill was introduced by the Prime Minister

under the title, "The Military Service Act, 1917." Seldom, if ever before, were the utterances of a Canadian leader awaited with greater interest, and always with the question added, "What will Laurier do?" Addressing a crowded House, with still more crowded galleries listening intently to every sentence, Sir Robert explained that there was no principle of compulsion in the Bill except the principle that had stood on the statute book for forty-nine years. He denied that the course had been taken at the request or dictation of the British authorities. The principle of compulsory service was, he explained, first enacted in 1868, a year after Confederation. The Militia Act was amended in 1904, and provided that for the defence of the country, whether within or without Canada, men from eighteen to sixty should be subject to compulsory service. The old act provided for selection by ballot, but under present conditions this would be manifestly unfair, so the Government proposed that "the selection should be based upon an intelligent consideration of the country's needs and conditions."

A week later, when moving the second reading of the Military Service Bill, Sir Robert explained that there were in Canada 760,453 unmarried men between the ages of twenty and forty-five, and 823,096 married men. Between the ages of twenty and thirty-four, comprising the first classes there were 636,646 unmarried men and 429,944 married. Consequently, he argued there should be little difficulty in securing the 100,000 men stipulated for in the Bill without dislocating the industries or life of the country.

It was not until the second reading, on June 18th, that the attitude of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was disclosed. Few people knew beforehand what course he intended to pursue. "Let the people speak," he said, "and I have no objection and no complaint to make. Let the people speak and express their will. With that I shall be satisfied; I ask no more. . . . What I propose is that we should have a referendum and a consultation of the

people upon this question." He moved in amendment: "That further consideration of this Bill be deferred until the principle thereof has, by means of a referendum, been submitted to and approved by the electors of Canada." In moving this amendment Sir Wilfrid remarked:

"I do not intend—and I beg to make myself perfectly clear upon that—to bind any man of those who sit behind and around me and with whom I share the honour of representing Liberalism in this House. If there is ever to be a time when every man should think for himself, decide for himself and act for himself, it is the present. This moment is too solemn, the issue is too great, the questions involved in the measure are of too far-reaching importance to have them decided by any other voice than the voice of each man's individual conscience. I am very firm in the belief, I am unshaken in it, that when the voice of every man has been heard, the aggregate will be the true voice, the right voice, and the right solution. At all events, it will have this effect, that it will be the final arbiter and it will put an end to the agitation which is now going on; it will bring about harmony, now much disturbed, and it will be a vindication of that spirit of democracy which we hope and believe must be the future social inspiration of the world."

Sir Wilfrid's plea was eloquent; but at once it was manifest that it did not strike a unanimously popular chord within his own party, as some of his followers did not applaud when he had finished, though most of the Quebec members were quite demonstrative in their enthusiasm. It was manifest that Sir Wilfrid would lose some of his support, and that he would win over to his side several of the Nationalist-Conservatives. For a while it looked as though the country would be divided at the Ottawa river, though fortunately no such division eventuated. Then began the memorable debate in the Commons, lasting till well past midsummer. Comparatively little time was taken up in discussing par-

ticular points, the members contenting themselves with the broad principles of conscription as applied to Canada. So far as the country was concerned, the chief interest seemed to lie in the number of Liberals who would part company with their chieftain, coupled with the Press rumours of a fusion or Union Government. Day by day the debate continued, lasting sometimes till long after midnight, and frequently English-speaking Liberals arose to state their inability to vote for the referendum and their determination to uphold the Government policy. The first of these was Hugh Guthrie (North Wellington), who bluntly announced that the Government would have his "whole-hearted support." Others rapidly followed, stating frankly that their leader, Laurier, had bidden them vote according to their consciences. These differences with their leader, they said, occasioned more than ordinary sorrow; but many Liberals coupled with their declarations for conscription strong appeals for national unity and for another determined trial for voluntary recruiting. Portions of the speeches in those notable days are worth preserving, showing as they did that patriotism was stronger than political ties. Excerpts follow from a few of the leading English-speaking Liberals:—

F. F. Pardee (West Lambton), Chief Liberal Whip: "I have to disagree with many of my party and with my chief, but let me say I have thought so long and so earnestly over these matters that my conclusions are no longer opinions but convictions."

E. W. Nesbitt (North Oxford): "Voting according to my conscience, being left absolutely free to do so by my honoured leader, I shall support the Bill."

W. A. Buchanan (Medicine Hat): "I believe that conscription is necessary. I have a duty to perform and I am prepared to perform it by declaring myself absolutely in favour of conscription. I am prepared to face my people on the stand I have taken and accept the consequences whatever they may be."

Dr. Michael Clark (Red Deer): "I shall support the Government's measure; support it with a clear conscience and a stout heart, believing that it is absolutely in the best interests of the country, of the Empire, of the world, of the cause of civilization for which we are fighting."

Frank B. Carvell (Carleton, N.B.): "When a man in his [the Prime Minister's] position takes that view I have not the nerve to say that he is wrong and I am right. I put the burden on him and I am willing to stand by him as far as it is possible for me to do in order that he may get all the men he wants."

On many occasions the debate was bitter in tone, particularly when biting references were made to Quebec's recruiting record. The Quebec members were not backward in defending their province, and many pages of Hansard are taken up with these defences and their arguments against the Bill. From the very first there was no doubt about how the vote would go, the only question being the size of the majority. The vote on the second reading came about four o'clock on the morning of July 6th. The amendment of Mr. Barrette, Nationalist, asking for a six months' hoist found only nine supporters, all Nationalists. Against this were piled 165 votes. The vote on the Laurier amendment asking for the referendum was 62 to 111, a majority of 49 for the Government. Liberals who voted against the proposal of their leader on this occasion were: Maclean (Halifax), McCraney, Buchanan, Carvell, Champagne, Charlton, Clark (Red Deer), Douglas, Graham, Guthrie, MacNutt, Nesbitt, Neely, Pardee, Ross, Turriff, McLean (Sudbury), Cruise, Loggie,—nineteen in all.

On the second reading the Government further increased its majority, the vote being 118 to 55, a majority of 63.

The third reading was not reached till July 24th, when the vote was 102 to 44, a Government majority of 58.

The Senate dealt with the Bill more briefly, though some unusually animated scenes attended its discussion in the Upper House. For a while the Government's

majority was in doubt, but a number of new Senators were appointed to fill the vacancies that existed, giving the Bill a comfortable majority. The vote on the second reading was 54 to 25, while on the third reading no names were recorded.

The Military Service Act, 1917, which was assented to on August 29th, made practically every male British subject in Canada between the ages of twenty and forty-five a soldier. These "soldiers" were to be absent without leave and without pay till called upon by proclamation. The exceptions included members of the regulars, reserve, or auxiliary forces, those serving with the navy or with the Allies, or those honourably discharged from such service, and "clergy, including members of any recognized order of an exclusively religious character, and ministers of all religious denominations existing in Canada at the date of passing of this Act."

The men liable to be called by proclamation were divided into six classes as follows:

Class 1. Those who have attained the age of twenty years and were born not earlier than the year 1883 and are unmarried, or are widowers but have no child.

Class 2. Those who have attained the age of twenty years and were born not earlier than the year 1883 and are married, or are widowers who have a child or children.

Class 3. Those who were born in the years 1876 to 1882, both inclusive, and are unmarried, or are widowers who have no child.

Class 4. Those who were born in the years 1876 to 1882, both inclusive, and are married, or are widowers who have a child or children.

Class 5. Those who were born in the years 1872 to 1875, both inclusive, and are unmarried, or are widowers who have no child.

Class 6. Those who were born in the years 1872 to 1875, both inclusive, and are married, or are widowers who have a child or children.

To prevent men belonging to a certain class getting into another class and escaping service, any man married after July 6th, 1917, was deemed to be unmarried. The Act provided for the calling out of the classes by proclamation for active service either in Canada or beyond Canada. Those guilty of failure to report were liable on summary conviction to imprisonment for any term, not exceeding five years, with hard labour. To prevent escape it was further provided that any man after his class had been called must produce his certificate or answer truthfully any questions put to him by persons having authority under the Act. Failure to comply with this section involved fines up to $100 or imprisonment up to a year.

Regulations under the Act had much to do with employers. Penalties were provided for employers keeping in their employ men called out in any class unless exemption had been granted. It was the duty of the employers to make enquiries regarding their men, and every employer was required to report the names and addresses of every man in the class called to the Minister of Justice after the time limit of the proclamation.

Each man had the right to claim exemption. First the applicant had to appear before a local tribunal or send in his reasons in writing. These tribunals were generously scattered throughout the country and easy of access to any applicant. The membership of the tribunal was two, one appointed by the Government and the other by the County Judge or District Court Judge. Attached to each tribunal were military representatives who were active in securing every fit man and who frequently investigated every case coming before them. If the applicant thought he failed to secure justice at the local tribunal he could go before the appeal tribunals in each province, and from there to the final court of appeal, a member of the Supreme Court of Canada, in this case Mr. Justice Duff.

The proclamation calling class one into active service, that is all unmarried men between twenty and thirty-four, was issued on October 13th, 1917, and these men had till November 10th to report for service. The reporting consisted in going to the local post-office and filling in forms, the applicant either waiving exemption or claiming it. As it turned out, over ninety-five per cent. claimed exemption. The next step was with the local tribunals which began their sessions on November 8th, each case being taken up separately. In the meantime medical boards sat at various centres and classified men according to the military physical standards. If a man was not fit for active service his securing exemption from a tribunal was only a matter of form.

The provisions in the Act for exemptions were drafted with the intention of placing each man where he could do the most good in the national cause. Tribunals were instructed to exempt men for any of the following reasons:

(*a*) That it is expedient in the national interest that the man should, instead of being employed in military service, be engaged in other work in which he is habitually engaged;

(*b*) That it is expedient in the national interest that the man should, instead of being employed in military service, be engaged in other work in which he wishes to be engaged and for which he has special qualifications;

(*c*) That it is expedient in the national interest that, instead of being employed in military service, he should continue to be educated or trained for any work for which he is then being educated or trained;

(*d*) That serious hardship would ensue, if the man were placed on active service, owing to his exceptional financial or business or domestic position;

(*e*) Ill-health or infirmity;

(*f*) That he conscientiously objects to the undertaking of combatant service and is prohibited from so doing by the tenets and articles of faith, in effect on the sixth day of July, 1917, of any organized religious denomination

International Press Photo

MAJOR-GENERAL THE HON. S. C. MEWBURN, C. M. G.
Appointed Minister of Militia and Defence, October, 1917

existing and well recognized in Canada at such date and to which he in good faith belongs; and if any of the grounds of such application be established, a certificate of exemption shall be granted to such man.

One section of the Act which had provoked considerable hostility in the Parliamentary debates, but which subsequently had a salutary effect in its working out, related to resistance against the law. Any person "who by means of any written or printed communication, publication or article, or by any oral communication or by public speech or utterance" advised men to contravene the Act or "resist" or "impede" or "persuade" or "attempt to persuade" persons to resist would be liable to a fine of $500 or a year's imprisonment. Any newspaper or periodical carrying an article calculated to impede the Act was liable to suspension for the duration of the war. Thus in a few sentences much of the criticism of the Act was cut off. This section effectually closed off most of the agitation that would have been fomented in Quebec and doubtless prevented for the time being racial feeling from mounting high in that province.

When conscription was first intimated by Sir Robert Borden, prophets were not wanting who predicted civil war when the law took effect. In the autumn the tribunals quietly began business, but their work had been under public review only a brief period when it was seen that, owing to the number of officials engaged and the varying local conditions, a large number of inequalities had cropped up. In some districts men were allowed exemption on the slightest pretext, while in no district was any great severity exhibited. The overwhelming victory of the Union Government on December 17th, with its main plank the enforcement of conscription, showed unmistakably the temper of the country as a whole, but the same election, with practically a solid Quebec returned supporting Laurier, indicated the determined opposition there, even though Sir Wilfrid had stated conscription was the law and should be obeyed.

Quebec courts became clogged with appeals against the draft. In the other provinces, too, these appeals were far more numerous than was anticipated. As the winter wore on the Dominion Police began rounding up those who had never appeared before the tribunals, these men being classed under the Act as deserters. In many places the action of the police caused some irritation, but there were no serious disturbances until the end of March, when incipient flames of revolt burst forth in Quebec City. Rowdies in the ancient capital of Canada looted the office of the district tribunal registrar, and stoned and set fire to some buildings. During a couple of nights' rioting several persons were killed by the troops, who were forced to fire on the mobs in order to maintain order. It was an unfortunate occurrence, blazoned as it was in the Press of the country from ocean to ocean. On the other hand, it may be argued that these Quebec riots had a beneficial effect, because from that date began Quebec's real effort towards implementing the man-power of Canada. The pressure of the first German offensive in the spring of 1918 told, as nothing else could have done, the need for men. There were also rumours of a changed attitude on the part of many of the Quebec clergy. Even with these changed conditions the Military Service Act of 1917 did not produce the numbers required. Up to March 25th the total number of recruits as announced in the Commons by the Minister of Militia in reply to a question was 472,728, of which 448,062 were volunteers.

Sir Robert Borden and his Union Government were swift to act. Cables from the War Cabinet in Britain told of the urgency of the situation. The first secret session of the Canadian Parliament was held. On April 19th, the Prime Minister asked the House to sanction an Order-in-Council cancelling the exemptions of all unmarried men or widowers without dependents of the ages of 20, 21, and 22, and including under the Act those of 19 years. In his speech urging the acceptance of the

order the Prime Minister stated that up to then Canada had sent 364,750 men overseas; the total Canadian casualties had been 150,188, with 40,477 dead. Further he stated that the Military Service Act had been worked out "with a great deal of inequality and sometimes with very marked injustice." In solemn sentences Sir Robert told the House of the determination of the Government to back up the men at the Front. Considerable debate ensued, but the Order-in-Council was approved by a vote of 114 to 65, a majority of 49, which by the way was the initial test of voting strength for the new Government in the Commons.

The first men called were those of the ages of 20, 21, and 22. The inequalities were wiped out together with all exemption claims. Even a huge delegation of farmers who stormed the Capital to wait on the Prime Minister, pleading the need of young men in the cause of production, could not budge Sir Robert a hair's breadth from the position he had taken. Only in cases of extreme hardship, which were comparatively few, was there any excuse for the physically fit unmarried men of the ages indicated not being in khaki. Then and only then did Canada have real conscription. Men were called upon as soon as places and uniforms could be found for them. The name "conscript" was dropped, and "draftee" substituted. City streets were frequently used as drill grounds. The appearance of the "draftees" excited favourable comment. Quebec's response was so gratifying that laudatory Press opinion appeared in those journals which had hitherto bitterly assailed the young men of that province. One day in Quebec City, where a few weeks before there had been rioting, sixty men were called and sixty responded. Students in Quebec colleges, instead of waiting for the draft, formed battalions of their own. There was ample evidence that Canada's army would be reinforced. From the Front came reassuring news that our troops were encouraged and ready. Canada was in the war to the finish.

CHAPTER V

CANADA'S FINANCIAL CONDITION IN ITS BEARING ON THE WAR

IN ONE respect, and perhaps in one respect alone, the declarations of war at the end of July and the beginning of August, 1914, found Canada reasonably well prepared. The financial condition of the community, so far as it could be adjusted by the regulation of credit by the chartered banks, was adjusted for a time of crisis; and the work was so thoroughly done that when the crisis came the disturbance to all kinds of business activity was less than might have been expected. The service which was performed for Canada, and for the Empire, by the great bankers of the Dominion during 1913 and 1914 was not properly appreciated at the time, but in the clear light of history it will stand out as a remarkable instance of insight and courage.

In 1912 credit in Canada was greatly over-extended. The country was at the climax of a period of extraordinary expansion. Population and capital had been pouring in for more than a decade in an ever-increasing flood, yet neither population nor capital seemed adequate for the host of new enterprises which were being undertaken on every hand. Expansion had been so rapid in every species of trade and industry that it was impossible to secure new fixed capital sufficient to carry on the enlarged business, and merchants and manufacturers alike were leaning heavily upon the banks for the financing of transactions which they should have looked after themselves. Intimations of danger were already perceptible, and during 1913 these intimations became much more apparent. Canadian securities, which had been snapped up with avidity by British investors for years past, though still readily taken, were more closely scrutinized, and several enterprises, railroad, municipal, and industrial,

which had been commenced in the confident expectation of securing capital from Great Britain were finding themselves in an embarrassing position. A boom in land values of city properties was showing signs of collapse. Economists were worrying because of the enormous excess of imports over exports, largely the result of the amount of new foreign capital in process of being spent in the country.

In July, 1913, the proportion of liquid reserves to liabilities in the Canadian chartered banks sank below twenty-one per cent., a level which it had not reached since the equally expansive days of 1907. The current loans of the banks, loans advanced for a longer period than thirty days, amounted in September of that year (when the crop movement was added to the ordinary requirements of trade) to $957,000,000.[1] But the forces of retrenchment were even then at work. The instant that crop-moving was completed, the reserve ratio rose above twenty-four per cent., and by February of the following year it was twenty-six per cent., while the volume of loans was slowly but steadily cut down. This work was carried on in the face of violent criticism from would-be borrowers, speculators, advocates of a larger paper currency, and easy-money theorists generally, so that for nearly two years the bankers were the most unpopular class in the community, and were blamed for every discomfort resulting from the collapse of the land boom, the lack of new foreign capital in ever-increasing amount, the curtailment of railway construction, the crop shortages, and many other things of which they were equally guiltless. So difficult was the process of loan reduction that even by July 31, 1914, on the eve of the entry of the British Empire into the war, the total of current loans of the Canadian banks

[1] *Financial Times* analysis of Monthly Return of Canadian Chartered Banks. This figure includes all classes of loans made by the chartered banks (current loans and discounts in and out of Canada, loans to governments and municipalities, and overdue loans) with the exception of call and short (less than thirty days) loans in and out of Canada.

had only been reduced to $933,000,000, or $24,000,000 less than the maximum; but to a greater extent than usual these were not ordinary loans of commerce but advances to semi-governmental and railway enterprises, and the real reduction in the banking funds invested in current commerce and industry in Canada was much greater than appeared on the surface. In any case, the object had been attained; capital expenditure had been checked, trade and speculation had been reduced; the accumulation of excessive stocks of merchandise in the hands of manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers had been discouraged, thus preventing the tying up of capital in an unrealizable form; and the country had been made to realize that expansion could not proceed indefinitely at the rate of the past five or six years. Many enterprises which were not of an immediately productive character, especially those of municipal and provincial governments, were set aside for the time being, upon the urgent representations of the banks that funds could not possibly be provided for them. Everybody had been induced to make an effort to round up the debts due to him—a task which had been greatly neglected during the years of easy credit,—and the statement that Canadians were living on what they owed to one another had come to be materially less true.

In all this the bankers, through their control of the machinery of credit, were the predominating factor. The Canadian banking system places great power in the hands of a few head-office chiefs, whose instructions must be carried out by thousands of branch managers all over the country; the system may have its defects, but it is exceptionally efficient when it comes to dealing with general conditions, or preparing for an emergency which can be foreseen by the experts but is not likely to be apprehended by the man who manages the branch in Mariposa, Ont., or Poplar Plains, Sask. In their readjustment work the great bankers were strongly supported by a close understanding with the Dominion

Government, and particularly with a Minister of Finance exceptionally well acquainted with monetary problems, and were thus enabled to face with a good deal of equanimity the attacks made upon them by politicians and writers of little responsibility. A weaker government, particularly had there been an election pending, might have been tempted to make some concessions to the protesting elements, which were demanding all sorts of measures for the "relief" of business—a great increase in the circulating medium, the application of pressure to the banks to induce them to make more extensive loans, a government bank of re-discount, or even direct government assistance to borrowers who could not get support from the chartered banks, the prohibition of the lending of Canadian bank funds abroad, and many other nostrums. But the Government stood firm for sound and conservative finance; and with the advent (after a few months of war) of a temporary prosperity due to military expenditure and British and foreign munition orders, the noise of protest rapidly died down.

The chief source of embarrassment to Canada, in a financial sense, during the early days of the war, was the complete stoppage of the supply of British funds which had been rolling unceasingly into the country for many years. Some difficulty had already been felt, as noted above, during the year or eighteen months preceding the war, when Canadian bonds, particularly the government-guaranteed bonds of new railways, of which a vast quantity had been authorized, became unsaleable at anything like the prices on which the promoters and legislators had calculated. But with the declaration of war the British Treasury put a veto on all offerings of new securities, whether of enterprises within the British Empire or without, with a few exceptions covered by special permits, and practically no British funds for capital investment have reached Canada since August 1914. This meant a tremendous dislocation of the industrial and financial fabric of Canada, which had been

geared up for the absorption of something like $400,000,000 of new capital per annum, whereas for the last five months of 1914, during which time the security markets of the entire world were in a state of petrifaction, not a penny of outside money entered the Dominion, if we except the advances made to the Federal Government by the British Treasury to assist the military operations of Canada, and these were almost all expended in England for the maintenance of the Canadian troops in training at Salisbury Plain and on service at the Front.

These five months were a period of very great difficulty and uncertainty. Unemployment was widespread, for the operations of every species of industry had been cut down to the minimum. The wheat crop was a disappointment, being less in bulk than the preceding year, and in some districts a total failure owing to drouth, although thanks to higher prices its market value showed no reduction. So severe was the depression that there was a general demand for the keeping up of industry and finding employment for labour by artificial stimulus, and many provinces and municipalities undertook what were frankly known as "relief" works, such as non-essential road improvements, sometimes without having much idea as to whence the money would be forthcoming to pay for them. The Ottawa Government, with a more just idea of the temporary nature of this condition, did little to countenance such palliatives, and with the rise of the munition industry and the progress of enlistment the demand for them rapidly fell off.

It is to be noticed that the activities of the "boom" period in Canada were of the utmost value in facilitating the Dominion's contribution to the war; for had it not been that a very large proportion of the population was, prior to 1914, engaged in non-productive, and largely promotive or speculative, occupations, it would have been quite impossible for a nation of little over seven millions, with no leisured class and no surplus labour, to provide an army of 500,000 able-bodied men and at

the same time to enlarge so effectively its production that the acreage under tillage for field crops was actually increased by fifteen per cent. The partial suspension of businesses other than those of a directly productive character—producing articles which could be immediately turned into cash—released from their employments several hundred thousand Canadians who had been engaged in the structural trades and their affiliated businesses, the sale of land and securities, and other secondary callings, and these men either enlisted or sought work in the productive trades, and later on in what became one of the most productive industries (in the sense of turning out a commodity instantly exchangeable for money) that Canada has ever had, namely, the manufacture of munitions of war.

There was thus effected without difficulty or disturbance a transition, the prospect of which had afforded keen observers not a little anxiety, the transition from an era of construction to an era of production—a transition which, when necessitated upon one occasion in the past, namely, at the conclusion of the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway's original trunk line, had involved the country in a long period of depression and grave social and industrial problems. Sir George Paish had pointed out in 1913 that this transition was again impending, and had warned Canadians to make preparations for it; but no amount of preparation could have brought it about so smoothly as did the new economic conditions resulting from recruiting and "war orders." It is true, however, that the productive period introduced by the war was not a permanent one, and that there still remained in prospect another transition, from the production of war materials to the production of the commodities of peace.

The construction work carried on during the first thirteen years of the twentieth century had been mainly that connected with the transportation systems. In the development of a very new country such as Canada,

these necessarily preceded most other kinds of permanent structural undertakings, for, before any other industry on a large commercial scale is possible, there must exist the means of getting in the raw material and getting out the finished product. The period in question saw the addition of two transcontinental roads to the nation's transportation, and an immense increase in the mileage and capacity of the original transcontinental, the Canadian Pacific Railway. No less than $74,000,000 a year was expended on the structure and equipment of railways during the seven years from 1907 to 1913. In the case of the Canadian Pacific there was no doubt as to the ability of the road to earn immediately the sums necessary to meet additions to its fixed charges; indeed most of the cost of the expansion of its system had been met out of the proceeds of stock sold, this not entailing any addition to fixed charges. In the case of the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific, the whole cost of the roads had been met by the sale of government-guaranteed bonds, and although construction was more or less completed the process of building up business for the new lines was yet to be begun, and the prospect of earning even the interest on the bonded indebtedness was decidedly remote. Owing to the numerous guarantees by the federal and the provincial governments the national credit was very heavily involved in these roads, and their completion, together with the financing of their operations during the unprofitable years, became, next to the war, the chief problem of the Dominion Government.

It would be a mistake to assume that the newer railways of Canada contributed only to the wrong side of the ledger during the early period of the war. While a source of considerable cost and worry to the Government, both lines performed notable services (though not of course comparable with those of the older-established Canadian Pacific) in the transportation of troops and munitions of war; and still more to their credit is the

fact that they had opened up to settlement, and rendered productive, an immense area of agricultural territory, from which the Canadian Northern alone carried in its fiscal year 1914-15 no less than 58,575,520 bushels of grain and 741,042,000 pounds of flour, enabling Sir William Mackenzie, its president, to boast that his line carried one-third of the whole amount of the grain moved to the head of the Great Lakes. Both lines had shops which they were able to employ for the production of munitions of war, and the Canadian Northern's steamships on the Atlantic were of much assistance.

The contribution made by the Canadian Pacific Railway to the cause of the Empire in the great struggle which began in 1914 was probably greater in scope and efficiency than that of any other single corporation. The company was able to place at the disposal of the Imperial Government an immense fleet of fast steamships on both oceans, a railway system of nearly 19,000 miles of track for the transportation of men and supplies, a telegraph system of over 100,000 miles of wire, and vast workshops which could be readily fitted up for performing everything of which metallurgical science is capable. Not the least of its contributions was its organization, by which all these manifold mechanisms and activities were gathered up under one control and rendered instantly responsive and effective. The purchasing department alone rendered services to the Imperial Government which have been estimated as worth many millions of dollars.

Typical of the ease and promptitude with which a civilian and commercial undertaking such as the Canadian Pacific can, under efficient direction, be converted to military uses, was the romantic war career of the steamship *Empress of Russia*, whose wildest adventure prior to August, 1914, had been the carrying of a royal traveller and his suite across the Pacific, or a brush with the tail-end of a tropical typhoon. Sailing from Vancouver in August on her normal occasions, she was slated

for patrol work, and the instant she reached Hong Kong her magnificent fittings were torn out and replaced by coal bunkers, while her Chinese crew were paid off and replaced by British naval reservists and French gun crews. She captured the Turkish fort of Kamaran in the Red Sea. For nearly a month she and her sister ship, the *Empress of Asia*, guarded the British port at Aden, one of the focal points of the world's waterways—her guns keeping the Turks at a respectful distance until British warships relieved her. She then bombarded the Arabian port of Salif on the Red Sea. Early in the summer of 1915 she steamed into the harbour of Hodeidah, where the British and French consuls had been kidnapped and taken into the interior, and the Turks were notified that unless the captured officials were speedily brought back Hodeidah would be blown into fragments; they were brought back. Passing another point on the Red Sea coast, her gunners with their third shell located an immense oil reservoir concealed behind the coast hills, and set it on fire by their artillery practice while remaining three miles out at sea. She was meanwhile constantly running down dhows containing slaves, rifles and munitions, and other contraband for the Turks, from one of which she rescued a whole load of women and children slaves in a terrible state of suffering. She then participated in watching the port of Manila, and helped prevent some fifteen German tramp steamers from emerging and delivering their cargoes of supplies to German war vessels. Finally, after a year of war service, she was ordered back to Hong Kong and went out of commission; her fittings were restored as speedily as possible by an army of workmen, and early in 1916 she was again in her old service, and again ranking as the finest passenger ship on the Pacific Ocean. The Odyssey of many other far-famed vessels of the same fleet cannot yet be written, because they are still (May 1918) going about the business of the Admiralty; but the experience of the swift and beautiful *Empress of Russia* is far from being unique.

By courtesy of the Canadian Pacific Railway

THE " EMPRESS OF RUSSIA "

In estimating the value of Canada to the cause of the Allies, apart from the contribution of fighting men to the number of some four hundred thousand, it is important to bear in mind the high strategic importance attached to the possession by Great Britain of a strip of territory right across the American continent, with a first-class railway system traversing it from one ocean to the other, with excellent terminal facilities and a large capacity both for freight and troop movements. Troops under arms cannot be transported through neutral territory, and without Canada the only route of communication between the Pacific and Europe would have been round Cape Horn, or overland by way of the greatly over-burdened Siberian Railway of Russia. Furthermore, the produce not only of Canada but of the whole American continent, which could not have been supplied to British or Allied war vessels in a neutral port, was made readily available for the Navy at any of Canada's numerous and excellent harbours on both coasts; and a vast amount of Canadian shipping became useful for naval and auxiliary purposes as soon as war was declared. Similarly, on the financial side, the fact that an agency of the Bank of England could be established on British territory but on the mainland of the American continent and within a few hours of New York, solved one of the greatest problems raised by the uncertainty of maritime transportation in time of war. In respect of communications, Canada afforded an indispensable link in the round-the-world chain of cable, telegraph and wireless stations by which the military information and orders of the Allied Governments could be transmitted subject to every possible safeguard. Finally, as the possessor of a virtual monopoly of certain highly important articles of military consumption, notably nickel, Canada was able to assure the military authorities of the Empire that the output of these articles would be completely controlled in the interest of the Allied cause.

CHAPTER VI

FINANCIAL MEASURES

AT THE end of July, 1914, and for a considerable time thereafter, a greater responsibility was thrown upon the shoulders of the Canadian Minister of Finance than had ever been borne by any of his predecessors. The whole financial fabric of Canada, the whole system of credit, the value of written contracts and the faith of Canadians in one-another's word, might easily have been ruined, beyond the power of years to repair, by a single false step on the part of the man responsible for the conduct of the Canadian Treasury and the administration of the laws relating to money and banking. There was no precedent to guide him, no standard of rules which could be applied to the new situation. Much had to be allowed which would not have been permissible in times of peace; on the other hand, to tolerate too many departures from established usage, or to allow any irresponsible individuals or corporations to exercise dangerous powers without close supervision by the Government, would have been to invite disaster. It speaks volumes for the discernment and knowledge of Sir Thomas White, at that time the Hon. W. T. White, that the amendments which he effected in the financial and banking systems of Canada to meet the abnormal situation of the war worked with the most perfect smoothness, and opened the door to no serious abuses.

The Minister of Finance was materially assisted in the delicate task which confronted him at the beginning of August, by the existence of a body through which he could deal with the banks as a collective unit, with complete assurance that no single bank would be permitted to make an improper use of the powers specially conferred upon the banks as a whole. It has been for

many years the policy of the Canadian Government to foster a certain collective responsibility among the chartered banks of the Dominion. They are, for example, required by the Bank Act to give what is really a guarantee of the payment of one-another's note issues—the sums deposited by each bank with the Dominion Treasury in the Circulation Redemption Fund being liable to be drawn upon to make good any deficiency in the payment of the notes of any other bank which may become insolvent and prove to have insufficient assets for this, its first liability, the amount of any such reduction in the Circulation Redemption Fund being ultimately replaced by the banks. This might appear to be making the banks responsible for matters over which they have no control; but the Canadian Bankers' Association is by statute charged with the duty of supervising and controlling all details connected with the issue of notes, and, in addition, through the operations of the Association and of the Clearing House, the banks as a body do exercise a very large measure of control over the policy of the individual institutions. The Minister of Finance was therefore able to feel assured that any special privileges which he might grant the banks for the purpose of supporting the credit fabric of the country would be exercised only in such manner as the entire body of banks would approve, and would not be exploited for the selfish benefit of individual institutions.

On August 3rd, 1914, therefore, the Minister of Finance prepared and laid before the Governor-General-in-Council a Memorandum in which he made certain far-reaching recommendations regarding the monetary system and banking regulations of the Dominion; and in an Extra Edition of the Canada *Gazette* of that date there was published an "Order-in-Council (*No. 2033*) providing for an increased issue of Dominion Notes."

The recommendations of this Order-in-Council were three in number, not including the supplementary recom-

mendation that any necessary special legislation be obtained at the next session of Parliament.

1. "Having regard to the world-wide financial crisis that has developed upon the outbreak of hostilities in Europe and in view of the action taken by the Imperial Government, to conserve the commercial and financial interests of the United Kingdom, that in case such course should in his opinion be required, he [the Minister of Finance] be authorized to issue Dominion notes to such an amount as may be necessary against such securities as may be deposited by the banks and approved by the Minister of Finance.

2. "That the Government authorize the chartered banks of Canada to make payment in bank-notes instead of in gold or Dominion notes until further official announcement in that behalf.

3. "That the Government authorize the several chartered banks of Canada to issue from this date and until further announcement excess circulation to amounts not exceeding fifteen per cent of the combined unimpaired capital and rest or reserve fund of the respective banks as stated in their respective statutory monthly returns."[1]

Prior to this action, the bills of the Canadian chartered banks were simply notes, redeemable on demand in specie or Dominion notes, very widely used for the purpose of convenience by the Canadian public, and enjoying for many years the unbroken confidence of all users. They were not legal tender, and no person could be compelled to accept them in settlement of a debt or in payment for a purchase. The regulations and legislation of 1914 did not make them legal tender as between individuals; the banks were merely empowered to use them in payment of their own obligations, and thus were in fact relieved from the obligation to redeem them. Had the banks enjoyed a smaller measure of

[1] It should be noted that this third provision merely extended to the whole of the year a right of issue which the banks already enjoyed between 1st September and the end of February.

public confidence than they did, the effect of such an action might have been disastrous; but the public instantly realized that the whole power of the banking system of Canada would be behind this currency, that the notes were as good money as any Canadian could desire, and that the chief effect of the new legislation would be to check the dangerous tendency of ill-informed or excitable people to hoard gold. The situation was much less difficult than in England, because the Canadian public was thoroughly accustomed to the use of paper money, and for years had regarded the notes of the Dominion as better than gold, and those of any chartered bank as hardly less safe and desirable than the notes of the Dominion Treasury itself. Prior to August 4th, 1914, any person had the right to refuse the notes of any chartered bank,—and as between individuals still has that right; but it was many years since such notes had been subject to question, and the great majority of Canadians were probably unconscious of any intrinsic difference between bank-notes and the national currency.

As a result of this prompt and acceptable action, there was hardly any sign of gold-hoarding in the Dominion of Canada. Nor was the circulation of bank-notes increased to any perilous extent, either in the case of the banks as a body or in that of any individual bank; for while under the new regulation the power of a bank to issue notes was limited only by the restriction of "excess" issue to a percentage of its combined capital and rest account (plus the amount of gold or Dominion notes which it might have on deposit in the Central Gold Reserve), while the public had no option but to accept these notes in payment from the banks, and could not return them to the bank and demand gold or Dominion notes in exchange, yet in practice this extreme freedom of note issue was restrained by the operation of the Clearing Houses. For the Clearing House continued to return to each member bank its own notes when turned in by other banks, and the

Clearing House rules continued to require each member bank to accept its own notes and settle for them (if any balance were due on the general exchange) in Dominion bills. Thus, since membership in the Clearing House is practically indispensable for a solvent chartered bank, the bills of each bank continued to return to it as soon as they were no longer required for circulation in the hands of the public. The public could not tender them to the banks and demand gold or Dominion notes in their stead, but it could tender the bill of any bank in settlement of indebtedness due to any bank, and the bill so tendered at any bank other than the one which issued it would in due course pass back to the issuing bank and would have to be redeemed.

Anything in the nature of a "run" on a chartered bank was thus rendered practically impossible, for the depositors would have been obliged to accept the bank's own bills in settlement of their claims until its issuing power was exhausted, thus merely substituting one form of bank liability for another, and permitting the printing press and the manager's fountain pen to undertake the task of making settlements. But the position of any solvent bank was made absolutely impregnable by the first provision of August 3rd, authorizing the Minister of Finance to make advances of Dominion notes to banks which should deposit acceptable securities in his hands. To the banks this amounted to a privilege of re-discount of their securities, and they were thus enabled to face the unknown contingencies of a world-wide upheaval without cutting down their loans to the vanishing point and endeavouring to convert as large a proportion as possible of their assets into cash or promptly realizable securities—a policy which would have had a paralyzing effect upon Canadian trade. The Order-in-Council of the 3rd of August was confirmed by the Finance Act (5 George V, Chap. 3), dated the 22nd of August, 1914, which also provided that the securities deposited with the Federal Government by the banks

should, as respects the Dominion notes issued to the banks against such securities, be deemed to be the security required by the Dominion Notes Act—*i.e.*, gold.

In its effect on the Treasury the new enactment had the result of increasing the amount of its outstanding note indebtedness without a corresponding increase in the amount of gold held for its redemption, and there was another problem which also required immediate action on the part of the Government. The war had not been in progress a week before it was found both by Great Britain and Canada that foreign debtors were refusing to make payment in gold, and that neutral countries, particularly the United States (which then owed immense sums to Great Britain in obligations continually falling due), were doing their utmost to keep all their gold within their own borders. Following Great Britain's example, the Minister of Finance on the 10th of August secured an Order-in-Council suspending the redemption in specie of Dominion notes. This Order-in-Council was also confirmed by the Finance Act of the 22nd of August, and the whole matter was dealt with in the Dominion Notes Act (5 George V, Chap. 4), passed on the same day as the Finance Act. The Dominion note circulation had always been kept within very conservative limits, and there was therefore plenty of room for concessions to the emergency of the times, without any serious risk of danger to the national credit. The law as it stood prior to the war required the Treasury to hold dollar for dollar in gold against all Dominion notes outstanding with the exception of the first $30,000,000, on which only twenty-five per cent. of cover was required. The amount of uncovered notes was therefore limited to $22,500,000—a very small sum considering the resources and credit of the Dominion and the wealth and currency-employing power of its population. By the new Dominion Notes Act the volume of notes issue upon which a twenty-five per

cent. cover only was required was raised from thirty to fifty millions, thus releasing fifteen millions of gold. This was intended as a permanent measure and not merely as a war expedient (although its introduction at that particular moment was of course due to war conditions), being based upon the theory that the population and currency-employing power of the Dominion were now increased to a point where fifty millions of Dominion notes would at all times be required for current circulation in the hands of the public, without regard to the holdings of the banks. The issue of notes against deposited securities, under the Finance Act of 1914, was additional to this normal gold-based circulation, and was limited only by the discretion of the Minister of Finance. In practice, however, the total circulation uncovered by gold never rose above seventy-five millions, of which the first half was the amount allowed under the new Dominion Notes Act as a normal figure, while the remainder was secured by the securities deposited by the banks as indicated below. This fresh supply of Dominion notes passed immediately into, and remained in, the hands of the banks, providing them with a greatly enlarged store of ready cash, a commodity of which they felt themselves obliged to carry an unprecedented supply owing to the uncertainties of the times.

There was still some question as to the legality of twenty-six millions of this excess note issue, for it was not issued against approved securities deposited as collateral by a bank, as required by the Finance Act of 1914, but consisted of ten millions advanced to the Canadian Northern Railway and six millions to the Grand Trunk Pacific, both upon the security of larger amounts of the bonds of those railways, guaranteed by the Dominion of Canada but unsaleable under existing conditions, and ten millions expended for the general purposes of the Dominion at a time (November, 1914) when much work had to be done without delay and it was impossible to raise money in the ordinary way.

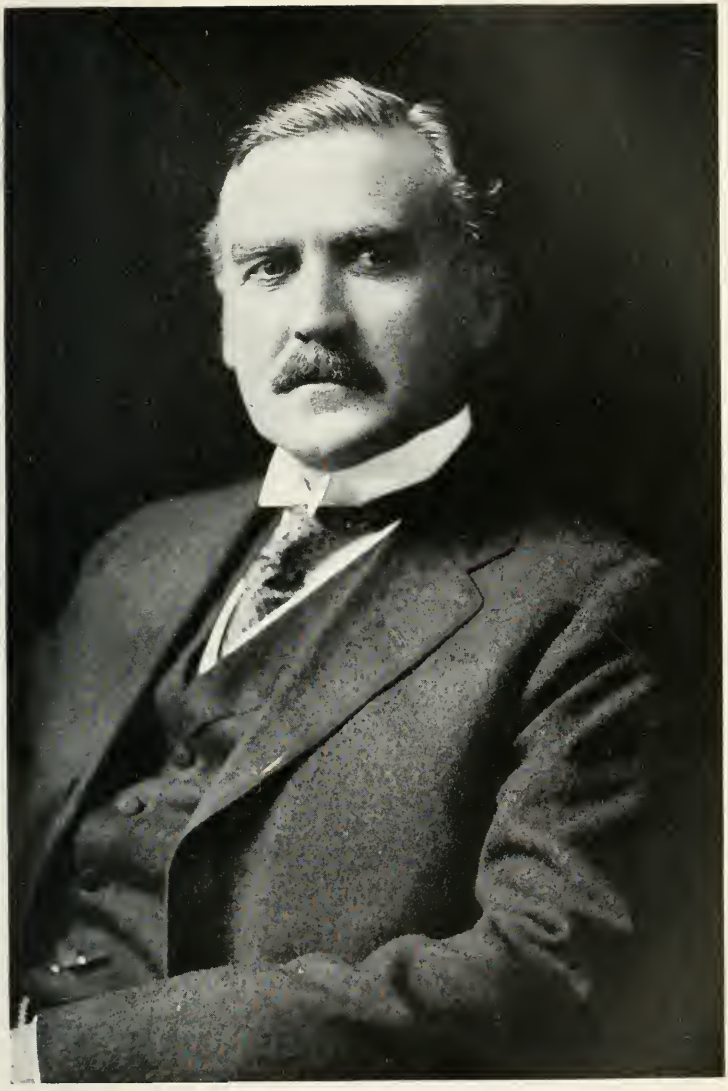
These issues were legalized by a Confirmatory Act passed in March, 1915. It appears, therefore, that the sums advanced to chartered banks by way of re-discount of their securities can hardly have much exceeded, if indeed they ever reached, the total of ten million dollars.

By these means, which amounted to the placing of the Government's credit behind the two embarrassed railways and behind all business enterprises which the bankers and the Minister might regard as legitimate, the necessity for a moratorium was avoided in Canada, and current trade went on with astonishing smoothness. Partial moratoria were enacted, it is true, by various provinces, but they were very limited in scope, designed for the most part for the relief of small debtors, and concerned with mortgages and other fixed forms of indebtedness rather than with the credit instruments of current trade. Not a day's notice was demanded even for withdrawals from the savings accounts of the chartered banks, which by the terms of the account are liable to a delay of from ten to thirty days. All the international obligations of Canada were settled when due, and the credit of the country in international markets, and particularly in the United States, the chief neutral money market of the world, was kept at a remarkably high level. The power to establish a Dominion moratorium, as a useful weapon in case of dire necessity, was vested in time of war in the Governor-General-in-Council by a clause of the Finance Act of 1914, but it was never exercised.

The problems of Government finance—of maintaining some sort of a balance between income and expenditure in the Dominion Treasury—were slight compared with the problems of public finance—the maintaining of the currency, the banking system and the fabric of credit generally—which had to be faced by the Minister of Finance; but they involved their own peculiar difficulties. The immense reduction in the volume of imports, due to the cessation of new capital expenditure, had a disas-

trous result upon an income derived almost wholly from taxes on imports; so that, as we have already seen, in November the Minister of Finance found himself compelled to spend ten million dollars which he could only obtain by the desperate expedient of working the printing-press overtime. The taxation measures adopted at the emergency session of Parliament in the autumn of 1914 proved to be almost ludicrously inadequate, which was not surprising in view of the impossibility of forming at that time any correct idea of the nature of the European struggle. Borrowing upon any public market did not become possible until the spring of 1915. The expenditure on account of the Canadian Expeditionary Force was at this time being entirely advanced by the British Government, but the reduced national income was not equal even to the task of meeting ordinary current expenditures. This condition of affairs was gradually rectified as economies became possible in various Government undertakings, and as the revenues began to come in from the far-reaching taxation measures of 1915 and subsequent sessions; and when in 1915 there was revealed the astonishing ability of the Dominion Government to borrow in the United States on terms far more advantageous than Great Britain could secure, Canada began to pay her own way not only in peace expenditures but also in the support of her armed forces abroad,—a change which was carried to its logical conclusion when her banks began actually to finance the British Government for some portion of its munition orders placed in the Dominion.

After the first two or three months of war, as the monies expended by the Government on the upkeep and equipment of the Expeditionary Force began to percolate through the country, there began a process of accumulation of funds in the banks which astonished the most optimistic; and when to this supply of funds there were added in 1915 the proceeds of the most gigantic crop on record, at prices above normal, and also those of



British & Colonial Press Photo

SIR W. T. WHITE, K. C. M. G.

large munition orders which kept every metal-working plant in the country busy, it seemed almost as if Canada were making money out of the war instead of sacrificing herself for it. This of course was not the case, for present money-making was more than offset by a stupendous future obligation, to say nothing of the sacrifice of the nation's best manhood; but the fact remained that for present purposes there were developing in Canada, as in the United States, unsuspected resources of cash and credit. For a long time bankers were unwilling to believe that it was good policy for Canada, even in view of these accumulations of liquid funds, to attempt to finance her own Government; and at first the argument from foreign exchange rates was in their favour. Owing to her large interest indebtedness, Canada was called upon, even with her reduced importations, to pay larger sums abroad than were due to her from foreign countries, and throughout the early summer of 1915 exchange on New York (which controls to a very considerable extent the rates and operations of the Canadian Exchange Market) was at a heavy premium. As much to rectify this adverse exchange situation as to secure funds, the Minister of Finance sounded the New York financiers as to the possibility of placing a Canadian Government loan in that city to advantage, with the result that in July there was offered, with conspicuous success, the first Dominion loan ever placed in the United States, a short-term note issue of $45,000,000, due in one and two years. This rectified the exchange rates until the crop of 1915 and the munition business combined to give Canada a pronounced surplus of exports over imports, which caused millions of dollars of cash to pour into the country, and thus made possible the famous First Domestic Loan of November, 1915.

There being no precedents to guide him, and seeing that the results accruing from failure would be of a most disastrous character as concerned the public credit, the Minister of Finance set about this operation with the

utmost caution. He placed the prospectus figure at fifty million dollars, and succeeded in having this amount practically, though informally, underwritten by consulting with the banks and other financial institutions and assuring himself of their co-operation. In the event it proved that the Canadian public were quite ready to lend their funds to their own Government, and the issue was more than twice subscribed, so that the Minister decided to dispose of one hundred millions instead of fifty.

An account of the financial operations during this period would be incomplete without some mention of the establishment of a branch of the Bank of England at Ottawa, with the Minister of Finance of Canada as its administrator. This was not a Canadian undertaking, and did not greatly influence Canadian business, except as Canada was affected by the exchange situation between New York and London, which the new branch was designed to rectify. The operations of German submarines, aided in the early months of the war by a few cruisers which were then at large, had made the shipment of gold from the United States to Great Britain a very costly and risky matter, and the establishment of a branch on British soil but on the continent of America, to which gold could be shipped and regarded as delivered to the Bank of England, restored freedom of communication and deprived American debtors of any excuse for non-settlement of their international obligations. Later on, when the gold movement was reversed and the United States became the great creditor nation, Ottawa served as a handy repository, out of the way of the main operations of the war, for the accumulation of a vast store of gold from all portions of the British Empire and indeed of the whole territory of the Allies, and specie payments were made out of this store whenever the American market showed an indisposition to absorb the securities sent across from Europe.

Another event at the outbreak of the war, which, while not caused by any Government order, was undoubtedly the result of a direct understanding between the stock exchange authorities, the bankers and the Minister of Finance, was the closing on August 1st, 1914, of all the stock exchanges of the country. Investment business, so far as the public offering and purchase of securities was concerned, was petrified for a period of six months, while for some time thereafter no transactions through a stock exchange broker were permitted except above a certain prescribed minimum price for each listed security. While this suspension of business was ordered by the authorities of the stock exchanges, it was the banks, with their loans of some sixty-eight millions of dollars advanced "on call" in Canada, who really controlled the situation. Had they insisted upon recalling any of these loans, there would have been nothing for it but to allow the holders to sell their securities, and in the resultant panic the banks would undoubtedly have been compelled to take over a large proportion of the stocks which they held as security. Rather than do this, they continued their loans indefinitely, being aided in doing so by the special powers conferred upon them by the Minister of Finance, which relieved them from the necessity of converting such assets into cash, and it is a striking proof of the ability of Canadian industrial and other corporations to withstand the utmost shocks of a world war, that within a few months of the reopening of the exchanges practically every one of the listed stocks was selling freely at prices not far below, and usually above, those established in the hasty marking-down process which took place between the first signs of the world-war and the closing of the exchanges. Not a single stock exchange insolvency occurred which could in any sense be attributed to the war, and it is safe to say that the banks did not lose a penny as the result of their policy of forebearance and of confidence in the resilient and recuperative powers of Canada.

CHAPTER VII

CANADIAN INDUSTRY AND THE CALL FOR MUNITIONS

THE declaration of war in 1914 came at the climax of a period of industrial development in Canada which has few if any parallels in any country of the world, and put a prompt and effective stop to the continuance of that development for the time being. During the war, expenditures for increasing the capacity of Canadian industries were confined to the businesses of munitions and military supplies. Plants were constructed not with a view to permanent utility but with the expectation of earning their cost out of the first order or two. A single important exception to this general principle was found in the paper industry, which, already in a strong position in Canada owing to the depletion of American pulp-wood supplies, received a further and powerful impulse from the shutting off of Scandinavian sources of supply from the American market, and the immense rise in the cost of ocean freights; so that new capital continued to be expended on pulp and paper plants in Canada throughout the duration of the war.

The latest official figures of Canadian industry are those of the calendar year 1910, collected in the census of 1911; and broadly speaking, the rate of progress shown in the decade 1900-1910 was continued at its maximum for the three years following. In 1913 it began to slow down, and in 1914, even before the war came in sight, there was a marked stagnation in the stream of new industrial enterprise. For several decades it had been the ambition of Canadians to employ the vast natural resources of the Dominion for the development of a great industrial community; and in the first decade of the nineteenth century the efforts put forth with this

end in view began to show very substantial fruit. In fact the 1911 industrial census not only gratified the pride and desire of the most thorough-going advocates of industrialism, but it even raised some doubts in the minds of careful observers, not on account of the growth of the country's factories, but on account of the relative lack of growth of the rural population, the tillers of the soil, who were needed to provide a market for the output which those factories produced. The reciprocity proposals of the Liberal party, which were put forward mainly as a means of improving the status of the agriculturist, had just been voted down as much too radical a change in the nation's fiscal policy; but for all that, the politicians began about this time to cease paying much attention to demands for the fostering of new industries and to concern themselves very largely with the characteristic problems of the "primary producers," and especially of the farmers.

Three factors operated to bring about the extremely rapid growth of Canada's industries during the decade ending in 1910, different industries being affected by different factors, and a few by two factors or by all three. The most forcible of the three was the vast expenditure which went on throughout that decade and the three following years, upon the provision of new transportation systems and the enlargement of old ones, an expenditure very moderately estimated at $74,000,000 a year between 1907 and 1913. This affected mainly the steel industry, and in a lesser degree cement and lumber. The second of the three factors was the increased consuming power of Canada herself, arising in part from increase of population, but still more from a very rapid rise in the general wealth and standard of living. The third was the increased capacity of the country for supplying raw materials for certain export industries, chiefly foodstuffs, but including also lumber, pulp, paper, and a few other commodities. The consumptive power created by the constant supply of new foreign capital for railway develop-

ment, along with that created by the growth in numbers and wealth of the population, was indeed far in excess of the ability of Canadian industries to keep pace with it, no matter how rapidly they might expand, and for several years previous to the war the imports into Canada ran at gigantic figures, due directly to the fact that Canadian plants could not be enlarged fast enough to keep pace with the demand. It was well in the end that this was so, for when the demand was suddenly curtailed the loss fell largely on the foreign importer, whose shipments into Canada were reduced (in the case of commodities which could be produced in the Dominion) to the vanishing point, making the shock to domestic industry proportionately less severe.

If ever an economic movement, or a political principle, was justified in a totally unexpected manner, it was the movement or principle which during nearly two generations had worked for the upbuilding in Canada of a great industrial interest. It is safe to say that none of the advocates of protection, and none of the promoters of the industries which grew up under protection, ever dreamed of advancing the argument that industries would be a fine thing for Canada and for the Empire in case of a world-war, because they would supply much-needed munitions and equipment for the armies of Britain and her allies, while the money received for those commodities would assist Canada in financing and maintaining in the field an army of hundreds of thousands of men; such an argument would have seemed so preposterously far-fetched that its hearers would have come to the conclusion that a cause so defended could have no practical considerations in its favour and should be rejected. Yet that was what happened in the year 1915, and so turned a period of acute financial and economic crisis into one of comparative ease and comfort, tending at times towards an appearance of positive prosperity. In order to observe how this came about, it will be necessary to glance briefly at a few phases of the industrial develop-

ment of the country during the preceding twelve or fourteen years.

During the earlier years of the National Policy the classes of industry extensively developed in Canada as a result of the protective tariff were those which catered to the standard consumptive requirements of a community which was mainly agricultural and not very wealthy. They included clothing in all its forms, household textiles, household furniture, some small machinery, the necessary carts and other vehicles of a primitive community, structural materials on a small scale, and the tools of the simpler forms of industry. The whole output of the industries of Canada in 1890, according to the census (which did not err on the side of undue modesty), amounted to $368,700,000, of which $76,000,000 was food products (partly for export), $54,700,000 was textiles, $72,800,000 lumber and manufactures thereof (largely for export), $24,500,000 leather and products (chiefly boots and shoes), and less than $42,000,000 consisted of the products of steel and iron and all other metals. That is to say, the manufacturers of Canada at that time were engaged in turning out either the few primitive products (output of the farm, the forest or the fishery, with very little "manufacturing" superadded) which were suitable for export, or else the articles required in the domestic life or the simple trades of the home community. And this condition continued with no very great change until the census of 1900. During this decade the whole output of Canadian industry increased by only 30.47 per cent., and the great bulk of the addition was in the exportable commodities or the articles of individual consumption. The increase in the yearly output amounted to $112,000,000 a year, and of this nearly $50,000,000 was provided by foodstuffs, $13,000,000 by textiles, $10,000,000 by leather, and only $12,000,000 by all the metal trades combined.

During the decade 1900-1910 all this was changed, for in that period Canada began manufacturing not

merely for the current consumption of her individual citizens, but for the permanent plant of her rapidly growing transportational and industrial establishments. In that decade the percentage of growth in the metal trades far exceeded that in any other department of industry; iron and steel increased 226 per cent., other metals 274 per cent., while the rate of growth in the industrial field as a whole was only 142 per cent. The textile, shoe, and furniture industries were limited in their expansion by the consumptive power of the population, and even so their growth greatly exceeded that of the population itself because the purchasing power of each human unit was much increased. But the metal industries were limited by no such consideration, for their market was supplied by the new capital which was pouring into the country, and their limit was not the amount of wealth which the Dominion could produce in a year but the amount of credit which she could procure abroad. The output of the Canadian manufacturers in 1910 was $1,166,000,000, being an excess of $685,000,000 over the previous census, and of that increase probably $300,000,000 or thereabouts was for permanent plant for the transportation system and for various industries, and less than $400,000,000 for the increased current needs of the Canadian people in their daily lives. Nor did the $300,000,000 by any means represent all that was spent in new plant in such years as 1910 and those immediately following it, for the Canadian producers were too busy to supply all the requirements of the new capital which flooded the Dominion, and large quantities of plant were imported from the United States and elsewhere.

This decade therefore saw the rise of the great structural industries in Canada—steel, cement, bridges, railway cars, roofing, rails, heavy machinery, and the like; and the fact that Canada had reached this stage of development was destined to be of the highest importance for the solution of her economic problems during the great

war. Had the war taken place prior to 1908 at the earliest, no matter what Canada might have done in respect of contributions of troops, her value as a provider of financial support and of munition-producing power would have been comparatively negligible.

The service which Canada was able to render to Great Britain in the financial sphere, owing to its possession of a very large amount of plant capable of making munitions, as well as of a vast surplus food-producing capacity, can perhaps be best exhibited in the language of the Hon. R. H. Brand, who came from England towards the end of 1915, when the munitions industry was well established in Canada, for the express purpose of arranging for financial accommodation for the Imperial Exchequer. The idea that Canada, normally a heavy borrower of British funds, could be of any financial service to the Empire was, at first, somewhat of a shock to Canadians, but Mr. Brand, as a sort of unofficial emissary of the Treasury, speedily made the matter clear. He pointed out that Great Britain, with its immense undertakings on behalf of its allies and its necessity for equipping at short notice millions of new troops of its own and of other powers, could not be economically self-supporting during the present war.

"If you go to buy things abroad," he told the Canadian Club of Montreal, "you have to pay for those things, and your printing press is no good there. You have to pay for them in actual goods, in things of real value, either by way of securities, exports, gold, or something. The British Treasury Bill, which is very useful to get things in England, is not good outside of England; therefore in England if we have a huge foreign expenditure to meet we have to consider very seriously how to meet it. . . . That really brings me to the last section of what I want to say, which is whether or not Canada can do anything to help, so far as finance is concerned."

Mr. Brand then pointed out that Canada had now a considerable balance in her favour in her foreign trade,

and was therefore improving her financial position and increasing her liquid capital while Great Britain was dissipating hers. He dwelt on the gigantic bank deposits of the Dominion, which he estimated to be between one-fourth and one-fifth of those of Great Britain, and he urged that Canada should extend whatever aid she possibly could to the mother-country in this time of trial, and that individual Canadians should increase the nation's wealth by "the least possible consumption, the greatest possible saving," in order thereby to "help our friends in the trenches."

Mr. Brand's mission was a great success. He was able to induce the Canadian banks to place a large and continuous supply of wealth at the disposal of Great Britain, by the purchase of British Treasury Bills; and in this way the factories of Canada became of infinitely greater value to the Empire than, for instance, those of the United States, whose output had to be paid for in gold or in American securities laboriously scraped together from all corners of the British Isles—since the Americans were at that time unable to accept Treasury Bills and could not be persuaded even to purchase the bonds of the British and French Governments except at an abnormally high yield of interest. Within a year of Mr. Brand's visit, nearly $200,000,000 of British Treasury Bills had been taken over by the Canadian Government and the Canadian banks, and it was fully demonstrated that Canada was able to provide the necessary credit for whatever supplies of munitions might be required by the Allies from this country. At the beginning of October, 1916, it was announced that the munition orders placed in Canada by the Imperial authorities had amounted to $550,000,000 since the beginning of the war. Of this probably about $200,000,000 had been paid for without Canadian financial assistance, another $200,000,000 had been financed with Canadian funds, and the remainder was still undelivered. The capacity of the Canadian

plants, and the volume of British orders, had been steadily on the increase since the day of the first order.

While these orders included clothing, leather goods, and various items of equipment, by far the larger part of them consisted of shells and explosives. Not only the whole of the steel and iron industry of the Dominion was kept busy on them, but in several instances corporations not associated with the steel industry adapted their plants or erected new plants for shell-making—the chief example of this type of enterprise being the Canada Cement Company, whose executive head was a former steel man.

The steel industry of Canada was a comparatively young one, which had shown an astonishing growth during the first fourteen years of the twentieth century. The production of pig iron in Canada in 1900 was insignificant, a trifle of 87,500 tons, about two days' work for the present capacity of the furnaces of the Dominion. By 1913 it had risen to 1,023,973 tons, though it was still only about one-thirtieth of the output of the United States, and probably about 1½ per cent. of the world's total production. The steel production of the year 1900 was still more negligible, being 23,954 tons; by 1913 Canada had reached an actual steel production not far short of a million tons, and in 1914 she possessed a nominal capacity of 1,500,000 tons. Yet before 1916 the Dominion's steel plants were being taxed to the utmost to turn out the amount of steel required for the munitions industry in Canada.

The growth of the steel industry during these years was not due to increased favours from the Government of Canada, for rather these were somewhat reduced. It was the direct consequence of a greatly increased demand for the product. In part due to the larger consumption of steel in structural materials and machinery for certain of the basic or secondary industries of the country, there is no doubt that this wonderfully rapid growth of the steel industry was caused mainly by the

sums expended upon the enlargement of the transportation system.

In the previous railway-building era in Canada, that of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway's original main line, Canadian iron and steel were not very largely used. Even at the beginning of the twentieth century, steel rails were not made in Canada. They were first rolled in May, 1902, at Sault Ste. Marie, and it is significant of the difficulties against which Canadian promoters of this industry have had to contend that the Sault works were closed down in December of the same year, largely as a result of the deliberate attempt of German rail manufacturers to destroy the new industry in its swaddling-clothes by selling quantities of rails to Canadian railways at less than the regular market quotations. There was no duty on rails at that time, and the proposal to establish one was fought with bitterness by the agrarian interests, on the ground that it would increase the capital cost of railways and therefore the price of transportation. Indeed the favours accorded to the Canadian iron and steel industry have always been regarded with a particularly jealous eye by Canadians engaged in the "natural" or "basic" industry of agriculture; but by its services to the economic interests of the Dominion and the military interests of the Empire during the war, this industry would seem to have justified all the sacrifices that have been made in its behalf.

The birth of the shell business in Canada took place on September 8th, 1914, when the Minister of Militia appointed what was called the Shell Committee to supervise and promote the manufacture of 18-pounder shrapnel in Canada for British use. The Committee was composed of Colonel (later Sir) Alexander Bertram (chairman), Thomas Cantley, George W. White, E. Carnegie, Colonel Benson, and Lieut.-Colonels Greville-Harston, Lafferty, and David Carnegie. The question of shell-making in Canada had been much mooted from the earliest days of the war; but Canadian manufacturers exhibited an extreme

reluctance to undertake the work. For a time they refused to believe that the war would last long, and hoped that the interruption to their ordinary activities would therefore be only a brief one. They knew that munition-making demanded the highest degree of exactitude in machining and of uniformity in material; they were entirely inexperienced in such work, and they knew that the Government inspection was of the most rigid character, and that failure in any respect might involve very heavy losses. It was necessary, moreover, to be assured of a sufficient profit on the first order to pay the cost of the special plant, as there was no guarantee that such orders would be repeated. Colonel Bertram, however, was an enthusiast, and gradually infected others with his optimism; and the prices offered on the early Canadian contracts were very attractive to men with plants standing in enforced idleness. By November 25th, 1914, it was stated that one hundred and thirty-nine companies were engaged on various parts of the Shell Committee's undertaking. Speaking on January 12th, 1915, the president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce estimated the military supplies contracts placed in Canada by Britain, France, and Russia at $30,000,000, a much lower figure than that generally ascribed to them at the time by current rumour.

It was during the year 1915 that the Canadian munitions industry showed its real powers of growth. As soon as it was made evident that shrapnel shell could be satisfactorily produced in Canada, the entire body of steel plants and many secondary industries began to clamor for orders, and for a number of months anybody with a factory in which he conceived that shrapnel shell might possibly be manufactured felt himself entitled to write to the papers in the most aggrieved language if he had not received an order. The rapid growth of the shell industry was thus accompanied by an amount of public controversy, some of it political in motive and some of it purely selfish, which tended for a time to

produce the impression on the public mind that the Imperial shell orders in Canada were being manipulated for the benefit of a favoured few. This impression was fostered by the comparison of prices paid on the earlier orders with those paid later on for the same product, and many came to the conclusion that the first contracts were extortionate; whereas, as has been mentioned already, there were the cost of special plant and the risk of an absolutely unknown venture to be considered in the first prices, and many manufacturers made less profit out of 1914 shells at $5.15 than out of subsequent orders at $1.85. Having been appointed by the Minister of Militia, the Shell Committee was regarded as fair game for Canadian partizan criticism, which placed it in a very embarrassing position, for however it might have been appointed, it was in point of functions an agent of the Imperial Government. This anomaly was removed in November, 1915, when the Committee resigned and its functions were taken over by the Imperial Munitions Board, which was frankly responsible to the Imperial authorities. It consisted of the Canadian Minister of Militia as honorary president; J. W. (later Sir Joseph) Flavelle, of Toronto, as president; Sir Alex. Bertram as vice-president; Colonel David Carnegie, G. H. Dawson (Victoria, B.C.), C. B. Gordon, and J. A. Vaillancourt (Montreal), and E. R. Wood (Toronto). The change was brought about largely by Mr. D. A. Thomas (afterwards Lord Rhondda) and Mr. Lionel Hichens, who both came out as envoys of the Imperial Munitions Department. The latter in a letter to the Prime Minister regarding these appointments explained the changed economic status of the shell industry by pointing out that: "(1) It has been realized that shells can be successfully and profitably manufactured in Canada, and instead of holding back there is now a keen competition on the part of manufacturers to secure contracts; (2) the volume of orders placed in Canada has grown at a very rapid rate, and the output both of shell cases and

component parts has increased so largely as to require a more highly organized department to ensure efficient co-ordination and prompt deliveries." The operations of the Munitions Board were thenceforth practically outside the range of public criticism, which was a very good thing for everybody concerned. The controversy over the Shell Committee finally took shape in certain charges of a very vague character in Parliament and an investigation by a Royal Commission, which elicited nothing more surprising than the fact that agile intermediaries had succeeded in landing a few secret commissions in the earliest days of the Committee's work, as might well have been expected in so novel, unorganized, and little understood a business.

Mr. Hichens' description of the growth of the munitions business in Canada did not exaggerate in any way. At the end of 1915 Canada was producing the astonishing quantity of 1,100,000 shells a month, valued by Sir Edmund Walker at $30,000,000. There were 422 plants at work on different parts of this production. The requirements of the British authorities had changed during the year from empty shell-cases to fixed (loaded and complete) ammunition. Orders on hand amounted to 14,800,000 shells, while 2,000,000 fixed and 6,000,000 empty shells had already been shipped to the Front. Colonel J. J. Creelman, one of the first Canadian officers to see active service in Flanders, while home on leave of absence informed the Montreal Canadian Club that the Canadian ammunition which was then beginning to reach the artillery was excellent: "The quality of the ammunition which is now coming forward from Canada is just as good as anything that has been made on the other side, and a battery commander of experience, knowing the class of shell he is firing, can do just as effective work with shells made in Canada and the United States as anywhere in the Empire. Naturally there is a small mechanical error in the construction of shells and fuses, but I personally have not noticed any increase in

the mechanical error in the shells coming forward to-day over what we had last February when we first went out."

The changes in the British requirements, from empty shrapnel cases to fixed ammunition of several different species, including the heaviest high-explosive ammunition, tended to spread the work of munition-making over a great number of industrial establishments. As Sir Alexander Bertram stated in June, 1915: "In no one single establishment in Canada, except the Dominion arsenal at Quebec, is the complete shell made; 130 firms, from Halifax to Vancouver, are engaged in the work of machining and assembling. Others are occupied in the manufacture of blanks, bullets, disks, cartridge-cases, buck-shot, primers, tubes, tin cups for shrapnel, grub screws, sockets and plugs, steel base plates, and boxes. At the present time no less than 247 factories are engaged in this work, in seventy-eight cities and towns of the Dominion. The manufacturing of shell in this country is giving employment to between 60,000 and 70,000 artisans, while the total weekly wage bill easily amounts to $1,000,000." These figures were much exceeded before the maximum output was reached.

The first plant in Canada to supply steel shell and shrapnel forgings was the Nova Scotia Steel & Coal Company, whose general manager, Thomas Cantley, was a member of the Shell Committee and one of the first Canadians to realize the potential capacity of the Dominion for the manufacture of munitions, and then was the only one to venture upon the gigantic plant necessary for the production of the heaviest type of high-explosive shells. Colonel Cantley's services were exhibited in a very striking light in the report of the Shell Committee Inquiry. Without his work, it declared, it would have been impracticable to have obtained orders for shells in Canada. Acid steel, which is not made in Canada, was prescribed by the War Office for shell-making. After a

series of experiments carried on under Colonel Cantley's direction, the Nova Scotia Steel & Coal Company succeeded in producing a quality of basic steel which met the exhaustive tests of the military authorities in London; and an insuperable barrier to Canadian participation in the munitions business on any large scale was thus removed. The speed with which the Nova Scotia Steel Company acted was a matter of admiration to all those acquainted with the difficulties of the business. Sir Sam Hughes is responsible for the statement that shells of Canadian origin, doubtless the product of the "Scotia" works, were delivered to the British authorities before any shells whatever were produced in England by commercial organizations—that is, outside of the Government arsenals, and that "not one shell was produced in any commercial institution in the United States until long after Canada had been producing enormous quantities." Another Canadian corporation which contributed largely towards the tremendous task of solving the initial problems of the shell industry was the Canadian Pacific Railway, whose great plant at the Angus Shops, Montreal, was speedily turned into an arsenal and experiment station of wonderful efficiency. The Ogden Shops at Calgary shortly followed suit. The Dominion Steel Corporation not only undertook much metal work but the by-products of its coke ovens supplied a much-needed component of the new high explosives, in the shape of trinitrotoluol. Other concerns which sooner or later adventured into the new field with success were Canada Foundries & Forgings, . Steel of Canada, Ontario Steel Products, Canada Cement, National Steel Car, Canadian Locomotive, Dominion Bridge, Canadian General Electric, Massey-Harris, and Canadian Westinghouse; but for that matter by the end of 1915 every plant in Canada capable of handling (or being adapted to handle) any form of steel manufacture was busy on the universal task.

Not all of the munitions were for the British. The requirements of France and Russia were also great, and some large orders, especially for the latter country, were secured by Canadians. One of the biggest, though not one of the most satisfactory, of the "war orders" was that secured from Petrograd by the Canadian Car & Foundry Company, for 5,000,000 shrapnel and howitzer shells, which was surrounded by so many exacting conditions and required such an effort for its financing that it appeared likely at one time to involve the company in more loss than profit. This, however, was not a purely Canadian affair, as sub-contracts for $52,000,000 out of the total of $83,000,000 involved were let in the United States. This was an extreme case of sub-letting outside of Canada; and while in some of the earlier contracts made by the Shell Committee considerable sums had to be sent to American plants for parts and materials, it was estimated that by the end of 1915 fully eighty per cent. of the value of the munitions turned out in Canada was wholly the product of Canadian labour and resources. The new demand created a number of subsidiary industries not previously existing in Canada, some of them of high permanent value, among which the most important was perhaps the refining of zinc spelter. The explosives plants were a more ephemeral kind of establishment, but several among these were constructed with a view to easy conversion to some related chemical industry, such as coal-tar dyes, after the war.

The recruiting of an army of (in 1916) nearly 400,000 men for overseas service naturally made serious inroads into the supply of labour available for this new and vital industry, and industrial leaders called vigorously for some form of registration which would secure for them their absolutely necessary help and tend to direct into the army the men who were not likely to be useful in the factories. No effective measures were taken to answer this appeal until well on in 1916; but the situation was somewhat aided by two factors, one the importation of

workers from the United States and one the constantly increasing employment of women in the munition works. Without needing to be urged forward by any special "movement" or by any governmental activity, the women of Canada took up this unaccustomed work with alacrity, and displayed in doing it the same skill, resourcefulness and adaptability which their mothers in pioneering days had shown before them.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ALIEN ENEMY IN CANADA; INTERNMENT OPERATIONS

NO FACT was more outstanding in Canadian development during the early years of the present century than the heavy immigration. For some time prior to 1900, Canada had had a normal annual inflow of from 20,000 to 45,000 people; with the new century, however, the movement went rapidly beyond these figures, climbing to 189,000 by 1905-6, to 311,000 by 1910-11, and to 402,000 by 1912-13. Altogether, nearly three million arrivals were added to the five and a quarter millions of population in the decade and a half which preceded the war. Not all of course remained; a considerable proportion represented mere transient labour, engaged upon the large constructive enterprises then in progress. But the statement will show the condition of flux into which the Canadian population had been thrown just prior to the war, and which constituted not the least disturbing element in the situation which the Government had so suddenly and unexpectedly to face on the outbreak of that great conflagration.

In proceeding to a brief description of the methods by which the alien enemy within Canada were brought under proper surveillance and restraint during the war, it will be of interest to envisage the problem as it presented itself from the more or less general information in hand when the war began. The immigration returns, as already hinted, offer only a crude index; the Census or stock-sheet of the population must be requisitioned for the complete point of view—though the Census figures were already three years old in 1914. First of all it may be remarked that of the total Canadian population of 7,206,643 recorded in 1911, some 752,732, or well over ten per cent., were known to be "foreign-born," i.e., born

in countries outside the British Empire. To this total the United States was the largest single contributor with 303,680; but it is significant that the very next place on the list was occupied by Austria-Hungary with 121,430, whilst Germany stood fifth (Russia and Scandinavia intervening) with 39,577. Turks to the number of 4,768 and Bulgarians to the number of 1,666 brought the grand total of persons born in enemy countries and resident in Canada in 1911 to 167,441. Most of these were comparatively recent arrivals; of the foreign-born as a whole nearly ninety per cent. have come during the past quarter century; in the case of Austro-Hungarians less than two per cent. arrived before 1890. The German inflow, however, is rather an exception to this rule, well over thirty per cent. having landed prior to 1890. Another general feature having a bearing here is the marked preponderance of males to females which the foreign-born population contains, namely, 626 males in every thousand persons, compared with 527 males in every thousand of Canadian birth. Of Austrian-born there were 176 males to every 100 females; of German-born, 144; of Bulgarian-born, 162; and of Turkish-born, 283.

The above leaves naturalization out of account, and an immigrant who has accepted naturalization is removed, of course, *ipso facto*, from the categories both of alien and enemy. Approximately fifty-nine per cent. of the German-born have become naturalized. The Turks, likewise, have "taken out papers" to the extent of forty per cent. of their numbers. The Bulgarians on the other hand have adopted citizenship very sparingly—to the extent of only 4.3 per cent. Altogether we had 81,248 non-naturalized aliens born in enemy countries in Canada in 1911, of whom 45,756 were males twenty-one years old or over. Add, say, eight or ten per cent. to these totals to represent arrivals subsequent to 1911.

The place of birth of a person must not be confounded with his racial origin. In point of fact the two are

nearly synonymous in the case of the Austro-Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Turkish residents. In other words nearly all representatives of these races in Canada were actually born in Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, respectively. Not so, however, in the case of those of German stock, of whom, as above stated, only 39,577 were actually born in Germany, though the Canadian population contains 393,320 of German origin. The explanation lies again in the earlier infusion of the German element, so that a much larger proportion of those of German origin are now "Canadian-born."

In one connection, however, racial origin becomes merged with birthplace from the present point of view. Among the three hundred and odd thousands of "American-born" that were recorded in the Canadian Census of 1911, no less than 45,374 were of German and 1,804 of Austro-Hungarian origin. The racial allegiance of these might be said to have re-emerged when they changed their country of adoption, especially as it has been frequently observed that the second and third generation of an alien element show more attachment to the country of origin than does the actual emigrant. In any case they might naturally be regarded as suspects in the present case, especially where they failed to take out naturalization papers—a category which includes approximately thirty per cent. and nearly nine thousand males of twenty-one years and over.

Thus at the opening of the war, probably sixty thousand alien enemy nationals were in the Dominion, counting only those of the male sex of military age. Including their dependents and all others of alien enemy origin born out of Canada, the total reached perhaps 200,000. By provinces the Austrians were shown chiefly in Manitoba (37,731), Saskatchewan (35,482), and Alberta (21,112), and to a less degree in Ontario (15,555); the Germans were chiefly in Ontario (15,010), Saskatchewan (8,300), Alberta (6,012), Manitoba (4,294), and British Columbia (3,104). Winnipeg had the largest colonies of

both Austrian- and German-born of any Canadian city—a total of 5,291 males of twenty-one years and over.

Such were the more important foundational facts upon which the policy of the Government took shape. It was a part of the general unpreparedness and of the essentially non-military character of Canada that public opinion could not instantly be brought into antagonism with the people who had been invited into the country with no thought in view but its peaceful development. Nevertheless the action of the Government was prompt, the first step in the matter being taken almost immediately upon the declaration of war, whilst numerous Orders-in-Council in amplification followed upon one another during the ensuing few months. Two stages in public policy are revealed in these documents.

In the first instance, a proclamation issued August 7th, 1914, vouchsafed protection to all immigrants of German nationality, who, while quietly pursuing their usual avocations, refrained from espionage, from the giving of information to the enemy, and from other acts of a hostile nature. German officers or reservists attempting to leave Canada were declared liable to arrest or detention, and precautions were taken at leading centres to prevent their return to Germany, either directly or through the United States. An identical proclamation regarding Austro-Hungarians followed a few days later (similar steps with regard to Turks and Bulgarians were also taken in due sequence), whilst on August 15th, 1914, a third proclamation, addressed to both German and Austro-Hungarian alien enemies, enlarged the prohibition so as to include any whose departure might on reasonable grounds be held to be for the assistance of the enemy. The power already vested in the Militia to make arrests and detentions in this connection was now extended to the Dominion Police and to the Royal North-West Mounted Police. Simultaneously, however, provision was made for the release of any alien enemy who should sign a prescribed undertaking to refrain from

acts of hostility, though refusal was made punishable by internment under the Militia of Canada. At a later date, certain German and Austro-Hungarian nationals having become apprehensive for their safety—more particularly lest some action on the part of the Government should deprive them of their freedom to hold property or to carry on business—they were assured by special proclamation that their fears were quite unfounded and that so long as they respected the law they were entitled to its protection. They were at the same time, however, prohibited from having firearms or explosives in their possession, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, the sale or transfer of firearms or explosives to them being also forbidden. This prohibition was later withdrawn in the case of farmers or homesteaders in remote parts of the country who might require firearms for protection against wild animals or for the shooting of game.

Up to this point the demands upon the resident alien enemy were virtually of a negative character, namely, that they refrain from hostile participation in the war. A certain number had been apprehended and interned, but the ordinary machinery of the Dominion Police and of the Militia had proved sufficient. By the month of October, 1914, however, more specific supervision and control were found expedient. As the war progressed, realization of the ramifications of enemy intrigue and of the menace inherent in the presence of large numbers of his nationals in Canada intensified. But the immediate spur to action was the growing unemployment and resulting destitution and unrest among the aliens themselves. It will be remembered that the first effect of the war upon Canadian industry was to deepen a depression already widespread as a result of the cessation, in 1913, of the almost continuous expansion and "boom" through which Canada had for a decade been passing. Ultimately the heavy orders for munitions which the war brought to Canadian manufacturers transformed the situation into one of renewed and intense activity. But,

for the opening months of the war, the labour market, relieved though it had been by the enrolment of the First Contingent, passed from stage to stage of increasing stagnation. Naturally the labourer of enemy nationality was the chief sufferer. He was the first to be dismissed when business slackened, and as the numbers of unemployed increased there emerged a new and pressing danger in the bands into which he congregated—though want rather than sedition was always the prevailing note. An Order-in-Council was accordingly passed (October 28th, 1914), requiring alien enemies within twenty miles of certain designated localities to present themselves for registration and examination as to their antecedents and movements. Sir Percy Sherwood as Chief Commissioner of Dominion Police was placed in general control of this process, special registrars being appointed in the more important centres, whilst the police system looked after the rest. Aliens found on examination to be unlikely to add to the strength of the enemy were to be permitted to leave the country in search of employment. Of those detained in Canada, some were allowed to remain at large, if such was deemed consistent with the public safety, on condition that they report monthly (this was subsequently strengthened to allow of more frequent reports) to the Chief of Police in the neighbourhood where registered. Those adjudged to be dangerous were to be interned as prisoners of war. Internment was likewise prescribed for all who failed to register or to answer examination. Where an alien of enemy nationality had wife or children dependent on him, the latter were to be permitted to accompany him into internment.

With this Order and the enlarged scale of the problem which it prefigured, internment operations proper may be said to begin. As already stated, the Dominion Police had, as early as August, 1914, arrested a number of dangerous aliens, and several were already lodged in Fort Henry (Kingston), in the Halifax Citadel, at Vernon, B.C., and at Lethbridge and other points in the Prairie

Provinces—the latter through the agency of the Royal North-West Mounted Police. It was now obligatory, however, in view of the comprehensive investigation which was contemplated, to provide less improvised and casual arrangements, and steps were at once taken to place the facilities for internment operations upon a proper and sufficient basis. By Order-in-Council of November 6th, 1914, a new and final military organization was created. It was first of all incumbent to select an officer of judgment and experience for the new and responsible task. The long and distinguished career of Major-General Sir William Otter, K.C.B., C.V.O., is well-known to Canadians. Sir William Otter, after a period of military service dating back to the 'sixties of the last century, had been Inspector-General of the Canadian forces in 1912, but was on the retired list when war broke out. He was now recalled by the Government with the offer of the command and direction of the new service. The duties of the office, as prescribed by the Order-in-Council, included the obtaining of premises of detention as advisable, the making of provision for the maintenance and employment of the prisoners, and the quartering and rationing of the troops employed. The necessary forces for carrying out the operations were to be placed at his disposal by the Department of Militia, and he was also given power to call upon the Royal North-West Mounted Police and the Dominion Police for police and secret service work. To meet financial requirements the issue of credits out of the war appropriation fund was authorized.

It may be added here that when at a later date the destitution among the German and Austrian aliens in the vicinity of Montreal and Fort William increased, grants in relief were authorized by the Government and subsistence issued weekly to many families until employment could be obtained by their bread-winners. In Montreal, the fund set aside for this purpose was administered by the resident Consul-General of the

United States. One further measure with regard to the alien enemy, taken nearly a year after the outbreak of the war, may also be noted. Many aliens of enemy nationality had under the original proclamation retained or found work in manufacturing establishments, where they were brought into common employment and often into competition with Canadian or Ally workmen. The animosities excited as the war went on led to increasing friction in such cases, so much so that rioting and the destruction of life and property became a danger. As a preventive measure, the Minister of Justice was given authority to segregate and intern aliens of enemy nationality in cases of the kind, subject to release at any time consistent with the public safety. The provision was merely an addendum to the original policy to meet a particular contingency.

It is, of course, in the actual procedure of the internment operations that interest centres, as the final application of the enactments above outlined, and the remainder of this article will be devoted to a brief description of their salient features. They constitute one of the most interesting phases of Canadian activity in connection with the war, involving as they do an issue of international character at once intricate and delicate, and an absolutely new departure in Canadian administrative and military experience.

The work of registration on the new and enlarged basis followed at once upon the proclamation of October 28th. The first locality to be specially designated was Montreal, but the cities of Sydney, Regina, Edmonton, and Calgary were named a few days later, Fort William and Winnipeg being added early in November, and Toronto, Ottawa, Brandon, and Victoria within the next three weeks. Within a short time the work was completed, though the offices at Montreal, Edmonton, Fort William, and Winnipeg were still in operation in the third year of the war. A final return and analysis of all the registrations has not yet (June, 1918) been made, but it may be stated

that nearly eighty thousand persons of enemy nationalities were entered upon the records of the police during the opening year of the war. The great majority were at once released under the report system above described. Those for any reason regarded as dangerous were at once handed over to Sir William Otter. Thus the apprehension and preliminary trial of the enemy alien has pertained to the Dominion Police, whose jurisdiction ends with his lodgment in the hands of the Director of Internment Operations. Should a prisoner, moreover, be discharged, he again comes under the surveillance of the police. In a few cases, an alien thus discharged has been re-arrested; the great majority, however, have found employment, and on the whole it may be said that the aliens left at large have proved a law-abiding and industrious element.

The organization of the arrangements for the internment proper of the prisoners under the Order of November 6th was a work of considerable difficulty. As already stated, there was no precedent in Canada upon which to build, and the circumstances were such that the heaviest weight of the work fell at the very moment of its inception. Within a few weeks' time some 8,200 enemy aliens (two-thirds of them Austrians)—the maximum number at any time under apprehension—had been rounded up by the police and handed over for detention. The first duty was to create an organization at Headquarters, Lieut.-Colonel D. MacPherson becoming Chief Staff Officer. Immediately thereafter the work of selecting locations for the camps and of erecting or making over the necessary buildings was proceeded with. The most pressing accumulation of prisoners in the opening days occurred at Montreal, and the first camps of all were designed to relieve the congestion there and in the neighbouring portions of Ontario and Quebec. Fort Henry at Kingston and a camp at Petawawa provided for most of these, with smaller establishments at Toronto and Montreal. Soon after, however, two large

camps were erected at Kapuskasing, Ontario, and Spirit Lake, Quebec, on the line of the Transcontinental Railway, and before the expiry of 1914 establishments were in operation at Halifax for the Maritime Provinces, at Brandon for Manitoba, at Lethbridge for the Prairie Provinces, and at Vernon and Nanaimo for British Columbia. Border stations at Niagara Falls and Sault Ste. Marie were also set up, being in the nature of outstations or receiving points rather than detention camps proper.

In 1915 a new development of the work occurred with the opening at Amherst, Nova Scotia, of a camp for the detention of certain prisoners of war who had been forwarded by the Imperial authorities from Jamaica and Bermuda, consisting largely of Germans captured at sea. Purely Canadian camps were also opened in 1915 at Beauport, P.Q., and at Banff, Edgewood, Fernie, Monashee, and Revelstoke in British Columbia. Later still a camp was established at Jasper, Alberta.

Many of the establishments above listed were in operation for a short time only, as an effort was made from the outset to reduce expenditures by amalgamations and readjustments as soon as the relief of the initial pressure rendered this possible. The Fernie camp was moved to Morrissey, the Monashee camp to Mara Lake, and the Revelstoke camp to Field, during this process of readjustment. Moreover, with the marked increase in industrial activity which began to develop early in 1915, the extent of the internments very rapidly decreased. As already stated, a large number of the prisoners had been apprehended on the score of lack of work and destitution rather than for any action of a hostile character, and, when the general industrial situation revived, the basic reason for their detention vanished. The policy was accordingly adopted of releasing all such prisoners as soon as steady work could be assured them. The first pronounced call for men came from the coal mines and the railways, but the rebound of manufacturing

under the stimulus of war orders soon diffused the demand throughout almost the entire field of employment. Within six months the numbers of the interned were cut in half, and by the middle of 1916 the original 8,200 had been reduced to little more than a quarter of that number. So material a falling off permitted the abolition of most of the camps and the concentration of the remaining prisoners at the more strategic and important centres. In the third year of the war there remained of the establishments above mentioned only four, namely, the camp at Amherst, which continued to serve the Maritime Provinces and the demands of the Imperial authorities, that at Kapuskasing, which covered the territory stretching from Winnipeg to Quebec, and those at Vernon and Morrissey, B.C., which met the needs of most of Western Canada,—all the rest having been abandoned and the residue of the prisoners transferred to one or other of these points.

The broad characteristics of the work, as above, can be sketched briefly enough. It is, however, in its details —in the peculiarities that distinguish it from other operations that may superficially appear similar, and in the life and conditions that prevail in consequence in the detention camps—that interest chiefly resides. A few notes, necessarily of limited scope, follow on these aspects.

The feature that *par excellence* marks off the operations from all others of a similar kind lies in the status of the prisoners. They are not prisoners in the civil sense, but are "prisoners of war," and entitled to the privileges of such under the Hague Rules. In other words they are not to be regarded as criminals or convicts, their detention being essentially a measure of security and not of punishment. As a general principle, the subjects of an enemy state who may be travelling or resident in the country on the outbreak of war are not liable to arrest or detention, though a declaration of war between two nations makes every citizen of the one an enemy of every

citizen of the other. It is only under the reservation that a state at war may undoubtedly take any step that may be necessary for the control of persons whose presence or conduct menaces its safety, that interference of any kind is possible. "The object of the internment," says the *Manual of Military Law*, "is solely to prevent prisoners participating further in the war. Anything, therefore, may be done that may seem necessary to secure this end, but nothing more. Restrictions and inconveniences are unavoidable, but unnecessary limitation of liberty, unjustifiable severity, ill-treatment, and indignities are forbidden."

With regard to the buildings for detention purposes, gaols or prison buildings may not be used under the Rules. In the Canadian case, the character of the buildings has varied from place to place. The prevailing type of accommodation in the remoter districts where most of the camps were set up was modelled on the Canadian lumber camp. First a bunk-house, or series of bunk-houses, was erected, of log or frame construction, the bunks lining the walls, the heating supplied by stoves, and the whole made "healthy, clean, and decent," as demanded by the regulations. Around these were grouped the subsidiary buildings, with a liberal supply of open space to permit freedom of movement,—all being surrounded by barbed wire under the guard night and day of sentries whose boxes formed the final outposts of the establishment. Such, in the fourth year of the war, was the camp at Kapuskasing. The camp at Amherst, however, consisted of a made-over factory, that at Morrissey of what had once been a hotel, while at Vernon a commodious building with ten acres surrounding was pressed into the military service. In a temporary summer camp which was established at Valcartier, the prisoners were lodged for the most part under canvas.

Inside the camps, a strict regime prevails. The prisoners are divided into two classes, the first consisting of officers and their equivalents socially, and the second of

the rank and file. The former are allotted the more comfortable quarters and obtain somewhat better food and clothing. The strictest surveillance, looking to the prevention of escape, is maintained, each prisoner being required to answer three or more daily roll calls. At the same time there is an absence of everything approaching close confinement, to which no prisoner of war may be condemned except under circumstances of necessity and for violation of rules.

Every consistent effort is made to ensure health and comfort both of body and mind. Unlimited access to the open air is allowed, most of the prisoners spending the entire day out of doors within whatever space may happen to belong to the camp area. Gardening and games, including tennis and football in summer and skating in winter, are permitted. In the case of the officer class, squads are at intervals allowed beyond the confines of the camp under escort and under parole, for purposes of exercise and recreation, though not in villages, towns, or cities. Every station has a hospital where ordinary illnesses are treated, but the more serious cases are transferred to the regular institutions, all charges, of course, being borne by the Government. Altogether a considerable sum has been disbursed in medical treatment for prisoners, including among others a number committed to hospitals for the insane. In addition, the tedium of confinement is relieved in various ways. The Y.M.C.A. has established classes in each camp for education purposes, the teachers being selected from among the prisoners, and the Association supplying superintendents and directing the courses of study. Needless to add, the prisoners have enjoyed the privileges of free delivery of letters and parcels from friends, and of the free exercise of their religion including the right of access at stated periods of their chosen ministers. The camps have been of course regularly visited and inspected by representatives of the enemy governments, the Swiss Consul-

General usually acting for Germany and the Swedish Consul on behalf of Austria.

The food ration prescribed by the Hague Regulations for issue to prisoners of war is that allowed to our own troops under peace conditions. This scale was maintained until June 1st, 1917, when owing to the necessity for general conservation a reduction was made in the articles of bacon, bread, meat, and potatoes.

With regard to the payment of prisoners, officers taken under arms receive by regulation an allowance of practically $1.00 per day, to be refunded eventually by their own government. Out of this they provide their food and clothing. To German reserve officers, an allowance is made by their government, through the Consul-General of Switzerland in Canada, from which the cost of their food and clothing is deducted. To the rank and file and to civilians of German nationality, their government lately made an allowance of $2.50 per month, also through the Swiss Consul-General. From this no deduction is made. To all prisoners other than the foregoing, and for whom employment cannot be obtained or who are unfitted for employment, a "compassionate" allowance of $1.00 per month is made by the Canadian authorities from the profits of the Prisoners of War canteens, while in the case of wives and children, an allowance of $3.00 for the former and $1.50 for the latter per month were also granted for the purpose of extra diet. The payment of a money allowance, however, has not been limited to those actually interned, but has been extended in certain cases to the dependents of prisoners left unprovided for by the detention of their bread-winner. No prisoners of Austrian or other nationalities receive allowances from their respective governments. Pay at the rate of twenty-five cents per day is prescribed by the Hague regulations for such as are employed within the camp lines, erecting and repairing buildings, cultivating land, clearing, draining, cooking, cutting wood, and performing sanitary fatigues. All pay and allowances, however, are

placed to the credit of the prisoners pending the conclusion of the war, except that a limited amount may be withdrawn for the purchase of small comforts and luxuries, canteens for the supplying of which are established in each camp.

At Camp Kapuskasing, in Ontario, the prisoners were utilized to make a clearing of one thousand acres in connection with the Experimental Farm which the Dominion Department of Agriculture is establishing at that point, whilst at Spirit Lake Camp a clearing of five hundred acres was made for a similar purpose, and a number of barns and out-buildings erected. In the Dominion Parks at Banff and Jasper, also, work of a useful nature was carried out. The German Government promptly protested through the United States Ambassador at Berlin in the case of the Kapuskasing prisoners, but it was pointed out in reply that the work in question was entirely voluntary, that it was in fact welcomed by the prisoners as a relief from the monotony of life in camp, and that as the detention of the prisoners in question was primarily to save them from cold and starvation the Government could see no reason why they should be immune from the requirements incumbent upon any one cast upon the charity of the State, and for whose support no provision had been made by the country of their allegiance. Moreover, the prisoners so employed were Austrians (with a few Turks), and not Germans, of whom only about ten were at that time employed (on a voluntary basis as cooks) throughout Canada.

There have been the usual incidents inseparable from operations which, no matter how highly organized and reduced to rule, contain a large element of the unexpected and dangerous. A prisoner on his internment must surrender every article (including money and jewelry) that might be used to facilitate an escape. In addition the most constant supervision is maintained. Nevertheless attempts to escape have occurred, not all of which

have been frustrated. There are the usual stories told of the cunning with which prisoners have attempted to elude the vigilance of their guards. The prisoner who digs a tunnel with a teaspoon has been in evidence. The absence of a prisoner from roll-call has led to his discovery entombed in a flower-bed or snow-bank as a preliminary to escape. Another prisoner constructed a "dummy" of himself which deceived the guard long enough to allow a vigorous attempt to scale the wire. For misdemeanors of this kind and others, punishments are awarded under an agreement between the British and German Governments, varying from fourteen days' to two months' imprisonment upon reduced rations, while in cases deserving more stringent treatment, recourse is had to the civil power.

For the carrying out of such a duty, it will be easily understood, an organization at once large and flexible is necessary. The general character of that organization may be inferred from the preceding. Internment is, as has been said, a purely military operation (though under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice), the troops under the Director being paid, clothed and equipped by the Militia Department, but quartered and subsisted at the expense of Internment Operations. The number of the military forces has, of course, varied from time to time. At the maximum early in 1916 they numbered 2,060, but by 1918 a total of 750 sufficed. At one time nineteen camps or stations were in use, with troops ranging from ten to two hundred and sixty of all ranks in each, each being under the command of a local commandant on whose judgment and acumen the successful administration of the camp largely depends. Guarding the wire is obviously the paramount duty; a prisoner of war may be fired upon if he attempts to escape. But the actual task of "sentry go" is only a part of the arrangements for rendering the camp secure. For enforcing discipline and preventing the hatching of plans to escape, dependence is chiefly had upon a staff of inside police who go in and

out among the prisoners continually, establishing contact with individuals, and noting every unusual circumstance or movement. The "escort" of working parties is arduous, but effective in preventing escapes in the woods and other convenient places.

For money the Department of Finance is drawn upon as occasion demands. At first the requisitions were periodically made in sums of $150,000; these, however, have dwindled to $50,000, all grants being spent under the supervision of the Auditor-General. Supplies (the main item of expenditure) are bought in large contract lots by tenders which have first been authorized by the War Purchases Commission. Overhead charges, perhaps the next leading item, are kept at a minimum by the concentrations already described. Altogether the service had cost in the neighbourhood of $3,250,000 to the end of the fiscal year 1917-18. It must be remembered that a considerable part of this, namely the expenditures on clothing and subsistence, will be recoverable from the enemy governments at the close of the war.

As already stated, the problem of the internment of the alien enemy has been a large and difficult one. Serious, however, as it has proved already in the matter of organizing a wholly novel task, and successfully though the high-water mark in the handling of personnel has been passed, it is probably the case that not the least of the difficulties are ahead and will not be fully encountered until after the close of the war. It has always to be remembered that the relations of the Government to the interned prisoners are of a peculiar and even subtle character, involving all the responsibilities that emerge when an individual guiltless of criminality is deprived of his personal liberty in order to protect the needs and interests of another—even though that other be the country itself. In the first place, there is the responsibility for the personal belongings of various kinds which under the Hague Rules remain the property of a prisoner of war and must be cared for during his confinement and restored

on his release. There is the administration of the fund in which his earnings or allowances have been placed. In the case of the death of a prisoner, not only must the utmost care be taken to ensure that the medical evidence is complete and in order, but there is the duty of ascertaining his next-of-kin, and even of administering his will. The possibilities of embarrassment in these and a long list of similar engagements, it will be seen, are great. Inevitably the close of the war will bring an aftermath of claims for adjustments and compensation of greater or less complexity, and the winding-up process may be as difficult as the carrying on. It is impossible, therefore, at the present stage, to write the final history of the Canadian internment operations—to do more in fact than note in a preliminary way how they were undertaken and how they met the main incidence of the task. This alone has been attempted in the foregoing, which will have sufficed to show the wide human interest of so many features of the work, the range of territory and of material which it covered, and the possibilities for evil which inexpert or hesitant treatment would have involved. It will always remain one of our most valuable experiences in the by-paths of military administration, and not the least striking incident of Canada's participation in the great war. It has even a general interest, for it has been conceived throughout in the broad spirit, so necessary to the situation in Canada, not only of meeting the military necessity, but of looking forward to the day when the people thus under restraint shall resume the purpose for which they came in the peaceful upbuilding of the country.

CHAPTER IX

CANADA IN THE WAR AT SEA

THE official annual reports of the Director of the Naval Service are noticeably brief. That for the fiscal year ending March 31st, 1915, says merely: "With regard to the activities of the Naval Service Department in relation to the war, preparations having previously been made to meet all contingencies which could be foreseen, it was only necessary to carry out or expand these preparations when war appeared imminent."

In time of peace the activities of the department are mainly concerned with the general administration of the Dockyards at Halifax and Esquimalt, the Naval College at Halifax, Fisheries Protection Service, Life Saving Service, Tidal and Currents Survey, Radio-telegraph and Hydrographic Survey. When war actually broke out the *Rainbow* had been commissioned for patrol duty in Behring Sea and was therefore ready for immediate service, while the *Niobe* was laid up at Halifax with a care and maintenance crew on board, which ensured her being kept in such a condition as would enable her to be placed in commission at short notice. Both vessels, with their officers and crews, were placed at the disposal of the Admiralty immediately on the declaration of war.

Arrangements were at once made to commission the *Niobe* and to complete her crew to full sea-going requirements. This was done partly by the transfer of the Imperial officers and men of the sloops *Algerine* and *Shearwater*, which, owing to their small fighting value, had been ordered by the Admiralty to pay off at Esquimalt, and partly by the inclusion of one hundred Newfoundland naval reserve men, the remainder of the crew being recruited from men who had served in the British Navy and were resident in the Dominion. A

H. M. C. S. "RAINBOW"

H. M. C. S. "NIOBE"

large number of these volunteered their services, and as many as necessary were entered for service during the period of the war.

There were other matters, of course, requiring immediate attention, such as naval intelligence, contraband, enemy and neutral commerce, censorship, movements of stores and troop transports, the organization of minesweeping flotillas, coastal patrols, harbour defence, etc. The personnel of the staff employed at Headquarters had to be increased by over one hundred per cent.

Just before the outbreak of war, the Dominion Government purchased two submarines which were building at Seattle for the Chilean Government. The crews were recruited from officers and men in the Dominion, the Government being fortunate in this respect in obtaining the services of two retired officers of the Royal Navy who had previous experience in submarines. These vessels were also placed at the disposal of the Admiralty. Permission was likewise obtained from the Admiralty to use the *Shearwater* as a depot ship for the submarines, which were at first actively employed in the defence of the British Columbian Coast and, after the destruction of Admiral von Spee's squadron, for training operations and cruising. The *Niobe* continued to be employed under the command of the rear-admiral commanding the North American station until September, 1915, when, owing to the very considerable amount of almost continuous steaming that she had done since the outbreak of war, it was considered that the general state of her machinery and boilers would not warrant her continuance on this duty. This fact, in conjunction with the urgent necessity for a depot ship to be used to accommodate numerous drafts of men passing through Halifax, and of a parent ship for the vessels employed on patrol work, etc., on the Atlantic Coast, caused the decision to be made to pay her off and recommission her for the purposes indicated. Since that date she has proved suitable for her new functions, and of considerable

utility both in connection with the Canadian and Imperial services.

The history of the *Niobe* is shortly as follows. She was completed in 1907 and was purchased by Canada three years later, and used as a training ship at Halifax. There were difficulties in keeping her crew up to full strength, and in 1913 it was decided to reduce the crew, and most of the ratings lent by the Admiralty to the Canadian Government returned to England. When the *Rainbow* was commissioned for service in Behring Sea in the following year, most of the ratings still on the *Niobe* were utilized to make up her complement, and for this reason only a few men were on board at the beginning of war. Later on, when it was settled that she should be laid up, a nucleus crew sufficient to keep her in proper condition, and a staff of men to provide for transient ratings, were retained, all these arrangements being made after consultation with, and by the approval of, the Admiralty. The number of men and officers on the books of the *Niobe* is about eight hundred, but not half of these are attached to the service of the ship. The others compose the crews of various auxiliary services at Halifax, St. John, Sydney, and elsewhere, and are borne on the books of the *Niobe* for purposes of discipline and of accounting. During some months from four to five hundred Imperial ratings are accommodated on the *Niobe*. The vessel is therefore discharging her duties as a depot ship and is being made useful within the limits of her present capacity. A large number of other vessels, both Government and private, are being utilized in connection with the naval defence of the coasts on such duties as examination service, mine-sweeping, patrols, and other necessary work. The boats of the Fisheries Protection Service, the Fisheries Patrol Service, the Marine and Fisheries Service, the Hydrographic Service, one of the Public Works Department, and one of the Customs Department, have all been employed on the various special war services being performed by the

Naval Service Department. In addition to these, a number of private owners have voluntarily placed their vessels at the disposal of the service, on both the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts, and in addition to this there has been a number of patriotic contributions of supplies.

The ice-breaker, *Earl Grey*, on her sale to the Russian Government, was transferred to the Naval Service Department to be sent to Archangel. A crew of naval ratings was provided, and the vessel was successfully navigated to her destination, the voyage of 3,000 miles being completed in fourteen days. On arrival at Archangel, she was turned over to the Russian authorities. The crew returned by ordinary steamer, some rejoining the British Navy, and some returning to Canada for further service in the Canadian Navy.

Recruiting has been actively carried on to complete the *Niobe's* crew as previously stated, and to obtain the requisite crews for the other vessels employed on subsidiary duties, preference being given to men with previous naval experience, and to officers and men of the Royal Naval Canadian Volunteer Reserve.

The Naval Volunteers, which were established just previous to the outbreak of the war, developed largely in the West, where some four hundred officers and men are enrolled. These volunteers have done good service both ashore and afloat, a considerable number serving continuously in the *Rainbow* since the outbreak of hostilities, while others are in H.M.S. *Newcastle* and various vessels at Esquimalt, including the submarines and their parent ship, the *Shearwater*. About one hundred have been transferred for service to the Atlantic Coast, and their training is being continuously carried on. The department has acted as recruiting agent for the Admiralty. A large number of Imperial Service officers and men have been reached and arrangements made for their transportation from all parts of the Dominion to England. The department has also handled the transportation

arrangements for numerous drafts of naval ratings proceeding to or from England.

In April, 1915, the Admiralty requested the department to select a considerable number of men to be trained as pilots for the Royal Naval Air Service. This involved much work and correspondence, many hundreds of applications for entry being received from all over the Dominion. These were gone into individually and arrangements made for interviewing and medically examining likely applicants. All those accepted then went to private flying schools to obtain their Aero Club certificate, upon obtaining which they were sent to England. The number called for by the Admiralty was twice increased, but the full quota was obtained, and the great majority entered up to the present have now obtained their certificates and been sent to England.

Although the Royal Flying Corps belongs to the military and not to the naval branch of the service, it may be well to notice here the fact that the War Office sent to Canada an officer in the person of Captain Lord A. R. Innes-Ker, D.S.O., to take on a limited number of men for the unit, to be sent to England for training without expense to themselves. These men must be between the ages of eighteen and thirty and it is not necessary that they be in possession of aviators' certificates. So far only candidates for commissions have been accepted, though it is probable that in the immediate future this field for recruiting will be extended to other ranks. Volunteers are sent immediately to England for training, and at the beginning of October, 1916, some seventy or more had joined.

Early in 1916 the Naval Service Department was asked to prepare lists of men willing to serve in the Royal Naval Reserve Motor-Boat Patrol. Several hundred applications were received; and Commander Armstrong, who visited Canada for the purpose of examining into fitness and making selections, had, at the end of July, sent to England about 250 sub-lieutenants

and about 100 chief motor-boatmen and motor-boatmen. The men going forward are entering the Imperial Service and will serve under the Admiralty.

At the beginning of the war the Admiralty called out the Royal Navy Reservists, composed of men engaged in the mercantile marine, but with some previous experience in the Royal Navy. The response to the call was such that the authorities found themselves with a surplus of trained seamen after manning the ships ready to put to sea. In order to utilize the services of these men a Naval Brigade was organized, and instructions were received in Canada that only men specially needed by the Admiralty should be sent forward. This naval brigade, while formed of reserve seamen, was partly officered by naval officers and partly by army officers. The men were trained as a military unit, given the uniform of the land force, were armed and equipped in exactly the same way as the infantry regiments, and took their places in the trenches alongside the latter. The only hold retained on them by the Admiralty was that these men, having received preliminary training as seamen, should be suitable for service on shipboard when required.

It was considered that there was no reason for Canada organizing two different systems of forces. There is not in this country a sufficient number of naval officers to undertake the training of naval regiments, and it seemed far wiser to enlist all the willing men under the military organization instead of duplicating the machinery. The Canadian Government therefore decided that no possible advantage could be gained by dividing their organization, and advised the few men who wished to enlist in naval brigades to enlist in overseas forces. The men who went over from Newfoundland were men belonging to the Royal Naval Reserve who had been already trained in the Royal Naval Reserve, which maintains a training station at St. John's. Shortly after the outbreak of war some 120 men and officers of the

Royal Naval Canadian Volunteer Reserve offered to proceed to England to join the Royal Naval Brigade which had been formed there, but for the reasons above stated applicants were advised to enlist with the Canadian overseas forces. In the summer of 1916 a representative of the British Admiralty visited Canada and made some effort at recruiting for the British Navy with but slight success. Since then the movement has been pushed more energetically. The prospects are brighter, especially since Admiral Jellicoe's personal appeal to the men of Canada. At certain points a mine-sweeping flotilla is provided. This consists of comparatively small vessels whose duty it is to keep the approaches to the harbours clear of enemy's mines. This entails daily operations on their part.

A number of vessels were employed on patrol duty on different parts of the coast. Their duty is to keep watch for hostile craft of all sorts, and to trace up rumours of their presence, and this patrol is organized jointly with the Imperial authorities and the Government of Newfoundland. Steamers purchased in 1915 for patrol work on the St. Lawrence have performed their work admirably.

At the beginning of the war all enemy merchant ships were ordered to be detained, and arrangements for this were concluded with the Customs Department.

Many important questions regarding contraband and neutral commerce are continually arising and being referred to the Naval Service, which is also continually conferring with the Customs with a view to preventing coal or supplies reaching the enemy or enemy agents by means of neutral or other vessels. At certain places guns have been mounted and manned by naval officers and men, while in other places protection has been prepared by the provision of motor torpedo boats and mines prepared for laying in case of emergency. As the situation relaxed these were gradually withdrawn. A system for the collection and distribution of naval

intelligence has been organized, acting in concert with the Imperial authorities, and the duties and work carried out by this branch have increased considerably in magnitude and importance and have been conducted in a very satisfactory manner.

All details connected with naval defence at defended ports are carried out by the Naval Service Department. At Halifax and Quebec an examination service was instituted before the outbreak of war, and has been continued without interruption, except during the winter season at Quebec. This is for the purpose of insuring that no vessel with hostile intentions shall enter the harbours, and also to facilitate the coming out and going in of ordinary commercial vessels.

Special arrangements have been maintained since the commencement of the war on both the east and west coasts for the supply of fresh provisions at short notice to all ships requiring such, both Canadian and Imperial; naval depots were established at Esquimalt and Halifax, and assistance of various kinds has been rendered to the ships of friendly powers.

CHAPTER X

VOLUNTARY WAR RELIEF

1. Patriotic Fund Activities

IN THAT momentous four days' session of the Canadian Parliament, which in August, 1914, dedicated the Dominion to the great struggle for liberty, three-fourths of the discussion and legislation had to do either with the military and naval situation or with adjusting the financial and commercial structure to bear the strain of war. But two other incidents of the day stand out. The first was the Government's gift of a million bags of flour to the people of the United Kingdom, symbolic alike of the country's devotion and of the kind of strength it could best contribute. The second was the passing of the Act incorporating the Canadian Patriotic Fund. Thus was initiated—or typified in its initial stages—a movement which soon reached a scale unparalleled in Canadian annals, and worthy of no mean place in the general history of sacrifice towards a great end. In three years of war the patriotic givings of the Canadian people had certainly reached and had probably exceeded a total of sixty million dollars.

To review a movement of this nature and to measure its exact extent is not at the present date easy. Millions of contributors were concerned in it, and they gave to scores of "causes" through perhaps hundreds of organizations. Private giving is essentially chaotic, and to reduce it to systematic and complete record in a case like the present would have required elaborate and expensive machinery. This it could not receive, though in certain of the provinces, as in Ontario and Nova Scotia, government departments have kept in general touch with its more prominent features. The present article relies for its main facts on a return prepared by

AUGUST 4, 1914—MARCH 31, 1917.

KATCHEWAN	ALBERTA	BRITISH COLUMBIA	YUKON	SOURCE NOT SPECIFIED
1.				
340,381.00	272,000.00	102,246.64	.....	.....
2. 153,247.53	1,312,421.00	1,698,994.20	25,631.20	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3.				
355,649.35	137,047.51	153,533.34	15,823.66	.....
95,085.74	6,584.33	12,302.17	.....	.....
4.				
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
6,414.89	8,928.32	17,538.88	.....	.....
5.00	.....	28.00	.....	.....
.....	15.25	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	4,300.00
.....	.....	.....	.....	44,000.00
.....	.....	.....	.....	100,000.00
.....	.....	.....	.....	130,444.71
5.				
121,801.28	104,987.74	129,343.66	.....	.....
2,166.54	.....	64.28	932.80	52,288.67
3,374.30	4,140.40	10,211.40	177.00	18,000.00
.....	.....	.....	.....	393,160.00
12,309.31	16,185.05	10,500.00	.....	.....
6.				
10,000.00	24,880.00	101,670.59	2,000.00	5,216.88
.....	.....	.....	.....	141,482.95
1,922.11	381.41	2,940.65	149.90	.....
10.65	12.75	26.00	.....	.....
8,334.43	42,587.18	24,599.27	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	750.00	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
110,702.13	$1,930,171.04	$2,264,749.08	$44,714.56	$888,893.21

States, India and Cuba.

As
tri nd $738 150.05 from the Maritime Provinces.
agi
$7,

TABULAR STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS IN CANADA FOR PATRIOTIC PURPOSES DURING THE WAR, AUGUST 4, 1914–MARCH 31, 1917.

FUND	CANADA	PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	NOVA SCOTIA	NEW BRUNSWICK	QUEBEC	ONTARIO	MANITOBA	SASKATCHEWAN	ALBERTA	BRITISH COLUMBIA	YUKON	SOURCE NOT SPECIFIED
1. Gifts by Dominion and Provincial Governments to the Government of the United Kingdom	5,469,319 54	72,672 94	100,000 00	120,041 86	623,897 56	877,459 45	160,620 09	340,381 00	272,000 00	102,246 64		
2. Canadian Patriotic Fund	22,981,615 61§	119,312 40	801,474 55	729,683 36	5,735,363 51	10,942,028 81	122,160 55	1,153,247 53	1,312,421 00	1,698,994 20	25,631 20	
Manitoba Patriotic Fund	2,311,292 11						2,311,292 11					
3. Red Cross:												
Canadian Red Cross Society	4,926,139 05§	28,214 25	90,593 13	46,169 61	243,376 94	3,451,197 10	337,154 93	355,649 35	137,047 51	153,533 34	15,823 66	
British Red Cross Society	3,712,302 75	5,568 69	145,874 00	26,617 81	233,277 40	3,171,992 61	15,000 00	95,085 74	6,584 33	12,302 17		
4. Hospitals:												
Ontario Military Hospitals (Orpington and Cobourg)	1,198,538 82					1,198,538 82						
"Women's Hospital Ship Fund"	273,967 98‖	4,000 00	8,465 25	11,258 51	41,833 89	163,005 80	12,522 44	6,414 89	8,928 32	17,538 88		
Seamen's Hospital (Greenwich)	38,452 71	2 00	5,000 00		1,015 00	27,390 71	12 63	5 00		28 00		
Scottish Women's Hospitals	63,726 11		1,465 06	1,113 40	11,881 50	49,175 90	75 00		15 25			
Toronto University Hospital	135,355 00					135,355 00						
Queen's University Hospital	23,000 00§					23,000 00						
Luton House (Lympne)	10,323 88					8,073 88						
Clarence House (Roehampton)	20,000 00				500 00	19,500 00						
Cliveden Hospital	4,300 00											4,300 00
Hôpital des Paroisses Canadiennes Françaises à Paris	50,000 00				6,000 00							44,000 00
Canadian Hospital at Dinard	100,000 00											100,000 00
Military Hospitals Commission	130,444 71											130,444 71
5. Relief Funds:												
Belgian Relief	2,633,458 16¶	¶	¶	¶	345,192 30	887,993 44	255,989 69	121,801 28	104,987 74	129,344 66		
Serbian Relief	95,396 98		2,581 26		7,821 78	27,008 36	2,533 29	2,166 54		64 28	932 80	52,288 67
Polish (Jewish) Relief	205,460 15		8,168 65	2,857 00	123,378 87	35,115 28	37 25	3,374 30	4,140 40	10,211 40	177 00	18,000 00
French Relief	393,160 00											393,160 00
British Sailors Relief	655,330 10	4,129 39	25,815 37	15,559 60	194,055 52	313,633 00	63,142 86	12,309 31	16,185 05	10,500 00		
6. Miscellaneous:												
Contributions for machine guns, general military expenses and to military units	1,984,740 40	19,929 22	140,000 00	73,565 91	767,865 79	812,684 01	25,928 00	10,000 00	24,880 00	101,670 59	2,000 00	5,216 88
Canadian War Contingent Association	141,482 95											141,482 95
Field Comforts Commission	14,775 21	44 98	769 29	490 01	104 05	7,050 79	922 02	1,922 11	381 41	2,940 65	149 90	
Soldiers' Gazette Fund	11,003 40		25 00	70 00	9,758 60	1,087 90	12 50	10 65	12 75	26 00		
Miscellaneous Returned Soldiers' Funds	199,116 43		20,140 08	4,000 00		72,950 00	26,505 47	8,334 43	42,587 18	24,599 27		
Newspaper Tobacco Funds	14,065 53				4,706 95	4,358 58	5,000 00					
Expenditures by Ontario Municipalities not otherwise accounted for	1,205,344 00					1,205,344 00						
Grants to Recruiting Committees	5,750 00			5,000 00						750 00		
Salaries paid to dependents of men on Active Service	263,150 84					162,385 47	100,765 37					
Totals	$49,271,012 32	$253,873 87	$1,350,371 64	$1,037,427 07	$8,350,029 66	$23,596,328 91	$3,439,673 67	$2,110,702 13	$1,930,171 04	$2,264,749 08	$44,714 56	$888,893 21

§Including $2,800,000 as the value of the flour contributed by the Dominion Government.

‖ This total includes in addition to the sums shown for the several Provinces, the following items taken over from the Canadian Patriotic Fund Association, $73,972.62; contributed by the Public Service of Canada, $114,946.75; contributions collected in the United Kingdom, $2,241.30; contributions collected in the United States, $12,883.86; and interest, $135,253.77. The sums pledged to the Fund but not collected on March 31, 1917, aggregated $14,973,036.63, distributed by Provinces as follows: Nova Scotia, $277,450; New Brunswick, $320,986.63; Quebec, $1,973,000; Ontario, $7,061,600, Saskatchewan, $1 000,000; Alberta, $800 000; British Columbia, $800,000.

¶Includes contributions of $67,379.13 from the United States, India and Cuba.

#Includes $5,000 from Dominion Government.

‖Including $3,350 received from the United States

‖Including $50,000 from the Dominion Government and $738 150 05 from the Maritime Provinces.

the Census and Statistics Office in the second year of the war, and brought as nearly as possible to date at the end of the fiscal year 1916-17. The method of the Office was to secure from the management of every "fund" or "appeal" organized in connection with the war, a statement showing the total amount of contributions and their origin by provinces. This was supplemented by miscellaneous data obtained from Provincial Governments, county and municipal authorities and various clubs and organizations which had contributed to or worked on behalf of the several funds, and whose records accordingly revealed a "cross section" of the situation, the object being to use the data in question as a check and as showing the mechanism by which most of the contributions were collected. The return is limited of course to *organized* contributions to Canadian, Imperial, and Allied causes.

By way of at once assembling and classifying the definitely known facts in a form convenient for reference, the accompanying tabular statement has been drawn up. It shows the amount contributed to each of the more important funds in the Dominion as a whole and (where the information could be secured) in each of the provinces. The figures, to repeat, are final only in the sense of stating a minimum which is known in several cases to have been exceeded. The provincial totals, in particular, are to be regarded as indicative only, as there are several funds of which the Dominion total is known but the apportionment of which by provinces is incomplete.

Altogether the table definitely accounts for the sum of $49,271,012.32 in Canadian patriotic givings up to March, 1917. But, as just stated, there are undoubted additions to be made to this. Specific instances will be cited below in the brief account which is given of the several funds. Here it may be said that a considerable element in these additions arises out of the donations that have been made in "kind"—food, clothing and

miscellaneous supplies. These have been large, and though in many cases it was possible to assign values to them, in others the description was so general that any estimate of the kind was frankly impossible. The Census return contains a list of several hundred items which could not be covered in any valuation, and which undoubtedly in the aggregate represents hundreds of thousands, if not millions of dollars. Moreover, in some cases the returns, even to March, 1917, are not complete. Then, also, as will be noticed later, there is reason for the belief that, outside of the generally known funds, a large amount of organized and systematic giving occurred, which has not found a place in any constituted record. In Ontario alone investigation showed this to exceed $1,200,000, and at least another half million can be located in other provinces. And, finally, there have been the innumerable spontaneous offerings of individual to individual which might claim inclusion in an exhaustive estimate. The single item of comforts sent directly to the soldiers by relatives and friends runs unquestionably into millions. It would seem therefore that a grand total of $55,000,000 as representing aggregate Canadian donations up to the end of the fiscal year 1916-17 might take the place of the $49,271,012 shown in the table and still be eminently safe. Since that date contributions to the Patriotic Fund alone have been maintained at the rate of a million a month, whilst the stream of gifts to such causes as the Red Cross and Belgian Relief have continued to flow. On the third anniversary of the declaration of war, it is possible to say that Canada has given voluntarily and for the most part from the storehouse of her private wealth, apart altogether from her activities as a State, a sum well over sixty and possibly approaching seventy millions of dollars.

To the total above quoted, over forty-eight per cent. has been contributed by the Province of Ontario, and about seventeen per cent. by the Province of Quebec. Manitoba ranks third with about seven per cent., British

Columbia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Nova Scotia following in the order named.

As to the relative standing of the funds themselves, first rank in point of time and dramatic effect must be accorded the gifts of the Dominion and Provincial Governments to the Government of the United Kingdom, which followed immediately upon the declaration of war and which taken together were of a value of nearly five and a half million dollars. In point of amount, however, these stand a long way second to the Canadian Patriotic Fund contributions, which in March, 1917, had reached the large total of over twenty-five millions. In the third rank is the Canadian Red Cross fund with nearly five millions (six millions would be nearer, counting gifts in kind). To the British Red Cross over $3,700,000 have been contributed, and to Belgian Relief over $2,600,000. In round figures, the contributions to various hospitals have aggregated $2,000,000, and those to military units in one way and another about the same. But it will be well to run over in somewhat more detail these and the other funds included in the survey, noting not only the contributions that have been received by each, but the more salient features of their administration.

As above remarked, first place in any statement of the kind must be accorded to that splendid series of direct offerings which the Dominion and the Provincial Governments poured into the lap of the mother-country in the opening days of the war. The spontaneity of the act and its quality of interpreting the spirit of the time—a time when the feelings that rose highest were a passionate acquiescence in the objects of the war and the desire to place everything upon the altar of the common cause—were the features that marked it out. Naturally, when the heart of the country was so deeply stirred, something more than formal adherence to the policy of the Empire was called for. These government gifts may be regarded

as the "magnificent gesture" with which Canada took up the gage of battle.

The Dominion Government's response has been already mentioned. On the second day after the declaration of war the Prime Minister cabled the British Government asking its acceptance of a million bags of flour. The value of the gift was approximately $2,800,000. Canada had long been called the granary of the Empire; the offering came therefore not only at a dramatic moment, but with sure instinct of the problem that was to prove one of the greatest of the war—the food supply of the British Isles. Almost simultaneously the several provinces took action along similar lines. Ontario and Manitoba, like the Dominion, made presents of flour, that from Ontario aggregating $887,459.45 in value and that from Manitoba (50,000 bags), $160,620.09. Quebec's gift was 4,000,000 pounds of cheese, valued at $625,897.56. Saskatchewan contributed horses to the value of $340,381, whilst Alberta and Prince Edward Island gave oats, the former 500,000 bushels, valued at $272,000, and the latter 100,000 bushels, which, with delivery charges, represented $76,722.94. New Brunswick's offering was potatoes to the value of $120,041.86, and British Columbia's was canned salmon to the value of $102,246.64. In several of the provinces these donations were subsequently legalized, where that step was necessary, by special acts of the legislatures, as in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Quebec.

This, though it totals nearly five and a half million dollars, does not of course represent the entirety of the grants made by the Dominion and Provincial Governments to patriotic purposes, but only those which were placed directly at the disposal of the Government of the United Kingdom in those opening days of enthusiasm and high feeling. To the Patriotic Fund, the Red Cross Societies, the Belgian Relief Fund and many others, both the Dominion and the Provincial Governments later on gave large contributions. These, however, are merged

in the present review with the other subscriptions to the funds in question, interesting though it would be to note in detail, were space available, how the organized governments of the people led the way throughout in the general movement of giving.

Coming to the causes whose appeal was to the people at large and whose success is representative in the main of private giving, the Canadian Patriotic Fund occupies by far the largest place. No other fund was planned on so comprehensive a scale or awakened so wide a response. It was organized, as has been said, at the very beginning of the war, receiving its imprimatur from Parliament itself, the Bill being drawn up by a committee of both sides of the House. The model was the Act of 1901 establishing the South African fund, the small balance accruing to which was taken over. The lieutenant-governors of the provinces, the provincial premiers, various members of the Dominion Government and Parliament, and some twenty others prominent in finance, commerce, or public affairs became its incorporators. The Fund, it need hardly be said, is designed to insure that the wives and other dependents of the soldiers shall not suffer in a material way through the absence of the bread-winner. For the bare maintenance of wife and child, the Government separation allowance is regarded as offering the basic provision. This varies from $20 to $25 a month in the case of privates and sergeants to $50 and $60 in the case of majors and lieutenant-colonels. The Government also assumes the burden of a Pension Fund, whose scale varies from a total of $480 yearly for total disability in the case of a private, upward and downward according to rank and the nature of the injury. These provisions at the best are but a minimum. The Patriotic Fund not only amplifies them, but it supplies the human touch necessarily lacking in the automatic machinery of the Government. In effect it investigates the circumstances of every family dependent upon a soldier on active service, and renders assistance to those

whose incomes, including separation allowance, do not enable them to live at a fitting standard of comfort. It has been objected that such a service ought not to have been left to private benevolence, but should have been performed by the Government as a part of the duty owed to the men under arms. To this the reply has been that there is a distinction between the providing of a basic contribution and that of maintaining a varying and somewhat arbitrary standard of comfort, and that the latter in the nature of things is not a function the Government can satisfactorily perform. Moreover, so long as such cost could be met from private sources, it was in the interest of national finance for the Government to hold aloof.

The machinery for the collection and administration of the Fund was designed to cover every section of the country and to provide an equitable basis of disbursements. The head office is at Ottawa. The Act provides for a Central Committee, under the Governor-General as President, with the Minister of Finance as Honorary Treasurer and the accounts in charge of the Auditor-General. The actual collecting and administration of the Fund is in the hands of local branches, authorized under the Act, for the prevention of overlapping and the maintenance of uniformity in method, each branch of course being under the direction of the head office. At Ottawa a special staff has been built up, housed in one of the administration buildings, and controlled by the Honorary Secretary, Sir Herbert Ames, M.P. The work has attained the status of a large business undertaking. "Campaigns" are organized. Leaflets and pamphlets for the stimulation of canvassers are turned out. The summit of activity in the latter direction has been reached in a periodical bulletin giving the "news" from month to month of the office and of the branches throughout Canada.

Judged by its fruits, the Patriotic Fund has achieved the greatest success of its kind in Canada. The first

month of its operations (September, 1914) saw $285,656.89 contributed. The stream rose steadily, and by the following December had passed a million. This doubtless reflected the first Christmas season of the war, for the several months which followed showed a recession. With the advent of 1916, however, and of full appreciation that the war was to be long and bitter, special efforts were put forth. March, 1916, saw total subscriptions of $1,417,802.25, and in June, 1916, the million mark was again passed. The slogan thereafter became "a million a month." On the average this was more than realized. To March 31st, 1917, the total actually subscribed to the Canadian Patriotic Fund had reached the large sum of $22,966,490.35. Even this does not represent the achievement in its entirety, for in addition definite pledges of future contributions to the extent of $14,973,036.63 have been obtained. The reference table shows how this is apportioned by provinces. Ontario, it will be seen, contributed a little under one-half, and Quebec about one-half of the remainder. British Columbia stands third and Alberta fourth, with Saskatchewan close behind. A full statement of how the contributions came in by counties and municipalities may be had in the publications of the Fund.

The Province of Manitoba, it should be explained, is included only to the extent of $122,160.65 in the above figures. The Patriotic Fund in Manitoba was organized from the outset on a separate basis under Provincial statute, with central office at Winnipeg. This agency had raised to March 31st, 1917, the sum of $2,311,292.11, which gives Manitoba third place in the list of provinces. Some overlapping has been occasioned by this arrangement, but the inconvenience is slight, the Dominion Fund having left this Province almost entirely to the local organization.

The disbursements meanwhile have been heavy, and have naturally enough shown a tendency to increase with time. For the period under review, the total was

$16,875,634.34. In not a few months, payments out of the Fund have exceeded current receipts. Nevertheless the general balance to the good has steadily grown. It was $1,725,804.39, and $6,105,981.19 on March 31st, 1917. Although the statement appears satisfactory, it must be remembered that payments have reached a million a month and over, and are steadily growing; the balance accordingly, though it represents good leeway, is no incentive to diminished efforts.

The general method of making disbursements may be touched on briefly. When a claim is presented and its validity ensured, the Committee must decide what the needs of the family are. There are wide variations in the cost of living throughout the Dominion, and it has been left therefore to the local committees to decide how much is required for decent maintenance, subject, of course, to a maximum. The lowest rate obtains in the towns and districts in the Eastern Provinces. It can be readily understood that the task of apportioning allowances is one of great difficulty, involving almost every conceivable domestic situation. Nevertheless the Fund has succeeded in establishing a series of rules and principles, the application of which, though not free from friction, has given general satisfaction. It may be added as an index of the complexity of the administration problem that the Fund provides relief to the dependents of British, French, Belgian, and Italian army reservists residing in Canada when the war broke out and who are of course on an entirely different and varying basis as regards separation allowances. By an amendment of the Act in 1916, the dependents of Newfoundlanders serving in the Canadian forces were brought within its purview, and the Fund was also permitted to extend help for a period of six months to incapacitated officers and men on their return to Canada and to the widows and dependents of officers and men dying on active service.

Legislation has been passed by several of the provinces to facilitate the work in its various phases, notably by

the amendment of municipal Acts so as to permit a diversion of taxes into contributions to the Fund.

Scarcely less widely organized and supported than the Patriotic Fund are the Red Cross Societies. Both the Canadian and the British Society share in this support, though naturally the former made the stronger appeal to Canadians. In no other war have Red Cross activities been so multifarious or extensive. Certain of these, as, for example, the sending of parcels of food to prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy, are either entirely new or are on a scale that entitles them to be considered new.

The Canadian Red Cross Society is Dominion-wide in its organization. General headquarters are at Toronto, but there is a central office in each province, and a large and increasing number of local branches. Work in behalf of the Society has been indefatigable, having engaged a degree of personal devotion that is perhaps true of no other cause. Especially important has been the part of women's organizations in Red Cross Work.

It is difficult to make a final estimate of the contributions to the Canadian Red Cross Society, for the reason that they have been to a large extent in goods and supplies. Much of the value attaching to these is represented not only in initial costs but in the labour which thousands have given to the knitting of socks, the making of bandages, etc. The donations in cash from the beginning of the war to March, 1917, were as follows:

Prince Edward Island	$28,214.25
Nova Scotia	49,776.70
New Brunswick	46,169.61
Quebec	120,953.70
Ontario	1,336,182.45
Manitoba	257,099.48
Saskatchewan	355,649.35
Alberta	137,047.61
British Columbia	146,772.22

Yukon Territory	15,823.66
U.S.A.	67,107.51
India	256.62
Cuba	15.00
Total	$2,561,068.16

The above, however, as just stated, takes no account of the donations in kind which have perhaps constituted the most impressive feature of the work. Some idea of the latter may be gathered from the fact that the total number of packages of Red Cross supplies sent abroad to date (September, 1917), approaches 100,000 (the average value of each being estimated at $50), whilst several thousand additional packages have been consumed in Canada. One hundred and twenty-five motor ambulances figure among "materials" forwarded to the fighting line by the Canadian Red Cross. Sixty-eight Red Cross nurses were sent from Canada in the first two years of the war alone.

The reference table herewith credits $4,846,083.60 in all to the Canadian Red Cross. This includes a valuation of the donations in kind up to March, 1916, but makes no attempt at a similar estimate for the past year and a half, lists of articles at the time of writing not being available. It would doubtless be safe to add another million to the fund to render full justice to the efforts on its behalf.

The Canadian Red Cross has been able to make generous contributions to the Allies. The following statement is now a year old, but will serve as an index:

France	Cash	$89,340.01
	Supplies—at least	1,000,000.00
Belgium	Supplies—at least	100,000.00
Russia	Supplies—at least	75,000.00
Serbia	Cash	42,123.40
	Supplies	75,000.00
Italy	Cash (Ambulance)	10,000.00
Montenegro	Cash	20,304.17

The British Red Cross Society has likewise received generous support in Canada. The lieutenant-governors of the provinces became its sponsors early in the war, and at least two general appeals were made to the people, namely, the Trafalgar Day, 1915 and 1916, messages of Lord Lansdowne, President of the Society in Great Britain. The total amount secured was $3,713,302.75. This is not inclusive of private donations to the fund subsequent to Trafalgar Day, 1916, in the provinces of Prince Edward Island, Quebec, Manitoba, Alberta, and British Columbia, of which no account has yet been published.

Akin to the appeal of the Red Cross has been that of various hospitals organized under Canadian auspices. The donations to these aggregated at least two millions, three-fourths coming from the Province of Ontario.

The largest single donation on the list is that for the Ontario Military Hospital at Orpington, which received altogether $1,173,718.07 for equipment and maintenance. A similar establishment at Cobourg received $24,820.75. The "Women's Hospital Ship" was among the most popular and generously supported of these funds.

Scarcely less generous was the response to the Toronto University Hospital Fund ($135,355) and the Queen's University Hospital Fund ($23,000) raised among alumni of these universities, both of which were represented so well among the officers and men on the firing line.

The Seamen's Hospital of Greenwich has received Canadian contributions to the amount of $38,472.51, of which $5,000 was subscribed by citizens of the City of Halifax; $7,000 by citizens of Ottawa; and $5,000 by the Dominion Government. The sum of $1,015 was subscribed in the Province of Quebec, but the balance, except for a few small sums, came from Ontario. The Fund was closed in July, 1916, when the above total was forwarded to Lord Devonport, chairman of the parent fund in England.

The splendid work of the Scottish Women's Hospital for Foreign Service, notably in Serbia and with the Allies in Macedonia, evoked deep interest in Canada, especially after the visit of Miss Kathleen Burke, official delegate of the Fund to the United States and Canada. Altogether the sum of $63,726.11 was raised, over one-half in Toronto alone, though Montreal, Hamilton, Ottawa, St. John, and Halifax made generous responses. In addition to four hospitals in Serbia and one on the Salonica front, the service maintains a Serbian refugee camp in Corsica.

Luton House was established early in the war for the use of convalescent Canadian soldiers and was maintained largely through Canadian subscriptions. The Hospital was later moved to Lympne Castle near Hythe, Kent. Subscriptions to the amount of $8,073.88 passed through the hands of the Canadian trustees for this fund from Canadian sources alone. In addition, $2,250 were received from the United States, and other contributions sent direct to the Commandant, Mrs. S. H. Fleming of Ottawa.

Clarence House, Roehampton, under Miss Winnifred Lewis, for Canadian Convalescent soldiers, receives a Government grant of $30 a day per patient. This, however, has proved inadequate for all the expenses of up-keep, and approximately $20,000 has been raised by subscription (chiefly in Ottawa) to enable the institution to carry on.

Other hospital enterprises included the Duchess of Connaught's Hospital at Cliveden, which received direct contributions of over $4,400 from Canada, but was later merged in Red Cross activities. *L'Hôpital des Paroisses Canadiennes à Paris* was in operation from October, 1914, to September, 1915, on funds collected largely by *La Presse* of Montreal from municipalities and public bodies in the Province of Quebec. The total received was in the neighbourhood of $50,000. The hospital has since been taken over by the Scottish Branch of the

Photo: Underwood & Underwood

FROM WAR TO CHINTZ

Wounded Canadian Soldiers in the Ontario Military Hospital, Orpington

British Red Cross Society. The Dominion Government also appropriated $100,000 for the installation and operation of a Hospital at Dinard, known as the "Canadian Hospital."

This by no means exhausts the list of hospitals endowed by Canadian contributions. For example, the Queen Mary Military Hospital at Shorncliffe has been generously supported, but the contributions are merged in the table with those to the Canadian War Contingent Association to be mentioned later on. The enumeration, however, will serve to indicate the extent of the sums contributed and the varied nature of their objects.

An institution that calls for mention in this connection is the Military Hospitals Commission, established by the Dominion Government in 1915. The Commission's main responsibility is the care of sick and disabled soldiers on their return to Canada, the supervision of their convalescence, their training in new occupations where that is necessary by reason of the nature of their disablement, and their transfer to civilian life in the most efficient way possible. An elaborate organization, it will be seen, is necessary for so important and many-sided a task, which ranges from medical attendance to co-operation with provincial employment agencies in passing on the recovered to places of usefulness in the community. The Commission relies for its main support upon the Government, but it has also been the recipient of private gifts. These, on March 31st, 1917, amounted to $130,444.71, a total which does not include certain loans of equipment which have helped greatly in the hospital work. The Commission, it may be added, was operating in the summer of 1917 no fewer than fifty-seven hospitals and had the services of thirty-seven others under partial requisition. The donations of furniture and supplies to institutions like the Sandford Fleming Home at Ottawa are included in the figures above mentioned, but no account is taken of the voluntary services of nurses and attendants, which would bring them much higher.

Four funds which may be grouped together owing to the similar nature of their appeal are those for the relief of the victims of the war in the invaded sections of Belgium, Serbia, Poland, and France. Of these the fund for Belgian Relief undoubtedly met the widest and most instant response. No single incident of the war so roused indignation and sympathy as the cynical violation of Belgian neutrality and the ruthless trampling down of the Belgian people. Within a few months the neutral commission for relief, formed under the auspices of the American and Spanish diplomatic representatives in Brussels and London, with Mr. Hoover as Chairman, had arranged, in the face of unparalleled difficulties, for the importation into Belgium of food supplies valued at over £10,000,000. Their appeal during the winter of 1915-16 rang around the world:

"Unless we get more assistance hundreds of thousands of the seven million people still in Belgium will actually starve. At least a million and a half Belgians are now entirely destitute. With the rapid exhaustion of the meat and vegetable supplies there will probably be, before harvest time, 2,500,000 in Belgium who must be fed solely by charity. The remaining 4,500,000 will get their pitiful daily allowance of bread through the commission and will pay for it. Will you help us to keep the destitute alive?"

Though the fund drew support from every quarter of the world, the fact that it was the invasion of Belgium that brought Great Britain into the conflict gave it precedence for a time over almost every other cause in the British Empire. The Lord Mayor of London became chairman of the British Relief committee. His memorable message to the British peoples re-echoed the cry of the Commission:

"The desolating hand of war has throttled Belgium's industries and pauperized almost a third of her population. In Liège, 30,000 women, old men, children, and cripples . . . in Malines, 25,000, in Brussels, nearly 250,000

Belgians wait every day for their bread of tears. Babies and children are barely being kept alive for want of milk. So it is throughout all the country where those who stayed and bravely faced the invader are now dependent upon the mercy of the world. . . . Under the impelling anguish of hunger they may be tempted to strike, desperately, but with tragic unarmed futility, and will be shot down, like so many wild creatures, in streets that were lost by sacrifice as noble as the world has ever known. Only organized efforts on an unprecedented scale will avert this tragedy. . . . The people of desolated Belgium only ask from us enough bread to keep themselves alive. Shall it ever be said that we denied them this?"

In Canada, the Belgian Consul-General was made President of a Central Committee in affiliation with the Commission in London. The Governor-General became patron, and the vice-patrons included the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition. A network of organization soon spread throughout the country. The donations to the fund, like those to the Red Cross, were largely in kind; so large in fact were the offerings of food, clothing and the like, that within the first year five specially chartered steamers were required to convey them across the Atlantic. Total contributions to date of March, 1916, according to the records of the Committee at Montreal, were as follows:

Maritime Provinces...	Cash...	$47,997.17	
	Goods..	690,152.88	
			$738,150.05
Quebec.....	Cash...	177,984.69	
	Goods..	167,207.61	
			345,192.30
Ontario.....	Cash...	506,248.21	
	Goods..	381,545.23	
			887,793.44

Manitoba	Cash...	187,898.32	
	Goods..	68,091.37	
			255,989.69
Saskatchewan	Cash...	81,418.13	
	Goods..	40,383.15	
			121,801.28
Alberta	Cash...	39,707.52	
	Goods..	65,280.22	
			104,987.74
British Columbia	Cash...	49,727.42	
	Goods..	79,616.24	
			129,343.66
Total			$2,583,258.16

The Fund still remains open, perhaps more needful than ever, and in the fourth year of the war, notwithstanding the increasing strain, is still receiving a steady stream of support.

The *Comité France-Amériqué* (Section *Canadienne*), Montreal, has forwarded to France since the early part of the war over 2,700 cases of clothing and household articles, on which a value of $290,000 had been placed up to March, 1916. In addition, twelve motor cars, valued at $11,160, were forwarded, and money orders and drafts to the amount of $92,000. Other contributions of materials were in hand to which no valuation had as yet been attached. The above was distributed by the *Comité de Secours National* of France among the refugees from the invaded regions of France and Belgium, as well as the population of the districts which suffered partial or wholesale destruction at the hands of the German Army prior to the Battle of the Marne. The *Secours National* was also the recipient of direct contributions on a considerable scale from Canada, but the amount has not yet been ascertained.

Two distinct organizations for Polish or Jewish Relief issued appeals in Canada. The Central Relief Committee

for Jewish Sufferers through the War, with headquarters in Montreal, collected $12,213.71, chiefly in the City of Montreal. The Canadian Jewish Committee for the Relief of War Sufferers, also with headquarters in Montreal, had collected the sum of $175,730.06 in Canada (over $100,000 in Montreal) up to the 31st of March, 1917. Up to March, 1916, the sum of $85,229.09 had been sent to the parent fund in London, England, of which Mr. Leopold Rothschild, V.C., is Honorary Chairman, and there was a further $18,000 which had been collected independently and forwarded through New York.

The Serbian Relief Fund, with headquarters in London, has Her Majesty the Queen as Patroness and the Lord Bishop of London as President. Canadian contributions to this fund total $92,398.15. The fund has been expended among the refugees from Macedonia since the storming of Monastir, for the most part on small tent hospitals commanded by a few orderlies, which have done excellent work. Clothing has been supplied the wounded at Bizerta and Salonica, and food to nearly 60,000 prisoners. Additional Canadian contributions aggregating $2,998.83 were made to the Serbian Relief Committee of America, whose headquarters are in New York City.

Of a different character from the funds just described is the British Sailors Relief Fund of Canada, which began its campaign only in June, 1916. In the first nine months thereafter it had collected the considerable sum of $655,330.10, of which £50,000 had been remitted to the British Admiralty for distribution among the institutions of the Royal Navy, and £50,000 to Sir George Perley, Chairman of the Fund in London, for institutions in the Mercantile Marine. The headquarters of the Fund are in Montreal. It has His Excellency the Governor-General for Patron, and the Prime Minister of Canada and the Minister of Marine and Fisheries are its Honorary Presidents.

The opening months of the war, during which the training and equipment of the expeditionary forces were in progress in Canada, naturally unloosed a flood of giving having for object the better arming of the men or the improvement of their general condition. The record of these benefactions which has been assembled herewith, and which shows a total close upon two millions, is but partial, including only such gifts as were specifically reported to the Militia Department. It includes the results of the campaign for the purchase of machine guns, but it omits, owing to inability to obtain details, various donations on account of military bands, field batteries, ambulances, field kitchens, and general contributions to individual regiments or battalions. The aggregate of such contributions is doubtless considerable. The total, however, that has been assembled includes such splendid gifts as those of Mr. J. K. L. Ross, of Montreal, ($500,000) and Hiram Walker & Sons, Walkerville ($25,000) on account of General Expenses, the donation of Mr. Hamilton Gault of $100,000 for the equipment of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, and Lady Strathcona's donation of $50,000 towards the maintenance of Strathcona's Horse.

Of the same class as the preceding are the funds which represent an effort to provide comforts in a comprehensive way for the soldiers in the field. The Canadian Field Comforts Commission, under Miss Mary Plummer, Senior Officer, was one of the most successful of these. Headquarters were situated at Moore Barracks, Shorncliffe, Eng., so as to enable the work to be efficiently handled. Up to March, 1916, 348,126 packages were donated to the Commission from Canada, including such items as socks, mufflers, handkerchiefs, etc. In addition, contributions of money were received to the amount of $14,775.21, nearly half from Ontario.

Another important body of the kind was the Canadian War Contingent Association, Sir George H. Perley, President, one branch of which has undertaken to dis-

tribute comforts to the men at the Front. Large quantities of clothing—socks, wristlets, cardigans, gloves, helmets, etc.—have been sent to France, as well as hundreds of bales and cases addressed to individuals or ear-marked for special units and containing tobacco, maple sugar, tooth brushes, footballs, boxing gloves, etc. Some of the articles were received from Canada; the rest were purchased by the Association. Gramophones have been presented to various battalions by the Association, and at Christmas, 1916, a portable cinema was sent to each brigade. The Queen's Canadian Military Hospital, Beachborough Park, Shorncliffe, as already stated, is maintained and operated by this Association, (the grounds and house having been lent by the late Sir Arthur Markham, Bart., M.P.) and its 125 beds have been continuously occupied by Canadian, English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and other British soldiers. The total amount contributed to the Association from Canadian sources amounted to $141,482.95, on March 31st, 1917. This, however, does not include the donations in kind, which in all probability amount to thousands of dollars in addition.

Early in the war, a newspaper clipping scheme to supply news to the men at the Front was started by the Queen Mary's Needlework Guild of Montreal. The scheme proved inadequate and the Guild decided to have a news sheet printed, the *Soldiers' Gazette* being the result. Nearly 700,000 copies had been sent to the soldiers in France up to October, 1916, the expenses being borne by contributions obtained by the Guild. The total amount received during the first year alone was $8,780.40, nearly all from the Province of Quebec.

Returned soldiers' associations have been formed throughout the Dominion during the last two years for the purpose of taking care of the soldiers on their return from the firing line.[1] Large amounts have been contri-

[1]The Soldiers' Aid Commission of Ontario was incorporated by special act of the Legislature.

buted, but as the funds are not centralized and in some cases are only in the initial stages of organization, it is difficult to obtain the exact total. From the larger cities and from provincial grants alone the total was $199,160.43 to about the end of 1916, but this leaves considerable sums unaccounted for.

Several funds were organized throughout the Dominion by banks, newspapers, etc., for the purpose of sending tobacco and similar articles to the men at the Front. Some of these forwarded their supplies through associations already mentioned, and their contributions are included in such associations' returns. Others, however, got into touch with the men direct. Some of the latter collected considerable amounts, such as *La Presse*, Montreal, which received total contributions of $4,706.95, the Toronto *News*, $4,358.58, and the *Telegram* of Winnipeg, $5,000.

There remain considerable sums donated by public authorities to funds other than those that have been mentioned. No complete record of these contributions is now obtainable, but it should be recorded that in the case of Ontario, the investigation of the Ontario Department of Agriculture shows that they amounted to no less than $1,205,344. This accordingly has been set down in the table as a contribution by Ontario Municipalities to miscellaneous funds other than those of which specific mention is made. Other provincial grants for relief purposes not hereinbefore included amount to over $500,000. In addition, grants to various recruiting committees amounting to $5,750 are specified in the table, and the Provincial Governments of Manitoba and Ontario have continued salary payments to men on active service to the extent of $263,150.84.

Only the main heads under which the patriotic givings of Canada have been poured out are noted in the preceding. Further research would doubtless reveal additional features of equal interest. But that the movement has

been large and has called for heavy sacrifices among a people of less than eight millions will be sufficiently plain. Not unimportant in considering the moral aspect is the fact that so much of the result has followed from co-operative effort among all classes. Thousands have worked together to swell the various funds. Especially among women's organizations have the sums realized been a revelation: the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire alone collected over three million dollars. It may well be that the lesson learned in this way may prove of greater final importance to the country than the immediate achievement, striking as that is. Back of all lies the spiritual significance of the labour that has been given so freely on behalf of patriotic causes—the ennobling of manual toil by sight of the end it serves, which Pierre Hamp has noted as the pervading atmosphere of the munitions works of France,—so that as the cathedral builder of the Middle Ages saw God behind the carved stone, so the munitions worker and the worker on supplies for the wounded and for the men at the Front have felt that nothing less than the destiny of the Allied cause was in their keeping.

But the interest of the movement is many-sided. It is easy to read the record as a splendid efflorescence of the Imperial spirit, still more as a manifestation of the undying passion of mankind for freedom, which transcends all political ties. The purely economic significance is more apt to be overlooked. When the war opened, Canada was in the back wave of an exhausting "boom." For ten years she had been absorbing hundreds of millions of capital annually from without; inherent financial strength seemed the last thing that she could muster. Yet, after three years of war, she was spending nearly a million dollars a day on military effort alone, having successfully launched within her own borders some of the largest loans in her history. But the sixty millions of patriotic givings are not loans, but cash and goods saved out of current revenues over and above all the extra-

ordinary demands of the time. No unborn generations of Canadians will pay them. They are evidence therefore in a special sense of the strength of the Canada of the present day, no less than of the greatness of an idea and its power of appeal to a free people.

2. Canada's Love-Gifts

In the John Ross Robertson Collection in the Public Library of Toronto there is a glass case containing a little white flag bearing a roughly-made red cross. The inscription on the case informs us that:

"This Red Cross Flag

Was improvised during the North-West Rebellion by Deputy Surgeon-General G. Sterling Ryerson, M.D., M.L.A., and was used in an engagement at Fish Creek, April 24, and at Batoche, May 9-12, 1885, and was presented by him to the Public Library,

Toronto
1897."

This flag did far more than mark a hospital tent. It symbolized the entrance of Canada into the international compact by which the sign of the Red Cross was held to ensure safety, through neutrality, to the sick and wounded soldier, together with the persons and property necessary for his care.

Fifty years ago, the idea of such an international agreement took shape in the mind of Henri Dunant, of Geneva, who, in 1859, on the field of Solferino, had witnessed the agonies of the untended wounded, and vowed to devote his life to the prevention and alleviation of such suffering. His description of the horrors of the battlefield, recorded in his *Souvenir de Solferino*, aroused public attention and prepared the way for remedial action.

Dunant records that he found himself upon the battlefield because Florence Nightingale's work and experience had directed his attention to the pitiable condition of

the wounded; and it is with pleasure that we recall the fact that she, who thus in early life inspired the idea of this great movement, lived long enough to see its fruition and to receive from her Sovereign the decoration of the Royal Red Cross.

In 1864 the representatives of fourteen nations met at the first international congress at Geneva, and the Red Cross movement was launched. It has spread to every great country, except China; but recent experience has shown that, in some cases, its observance is rather theoretical than practical.

It is not now necessary to record in detail the history of the Red Cross movement. Suffice it to say that, although the fundamental idea of neutrality for the wounded under a common flag was early established and never departed from, there was much difference of opinion as to the exact method of its application.

Dunant appears to have anticipated the formation of a corps of volunteer civilian attendants, not amenable to military discipline, who should march in the rear of the army, picking up and tending the wounded as the combatants moved forward. The objections to such a scheme are so obvious that the pendulum of public opinion swung for a time to the opposite extreme and favoured the organization of a department of the army for the care and relief of the sick and wounded. This idea, manifestly reasonable, developed into the Army Medical Service, which in every country is now an important section of military organization.

But the two ideas were not mutually exclusive. However efficient the medical service of the army may become (and Canada has good reason to know how efficient such a corps may prove itself upon the battlefield), there is still room for voluntary effort in the manifold operations which combine to turn the scale as between death and restoration to normal health. This statement contains no disparagement of the work of the Army Medical Corps; it is equally true of the best-equipped civil hospital.

Granted that the patient in such a hospital receives the most perfect service which knowledge can plan and efficiency carry out, he may still owe much of his restoration to health to the encouragement brought by letters, gifts, or visits from relations and friends. Peculiarly is this the case, if the patient finds himself in a hospital in a strange city and is tempted to believe himself not only out of sight but also out of mind. In military hospitals also, the patients feel the need of some pledge that they are not forgotten by those for whom they are suffering.

Moreover there occur crises, such as those occasioned by sudden disaster like flood or fire or earthquake, when the perfectly-equipped civil hospital may be glad to ask for volunteer assistance to meet its emergency calls. In military hospitals also arise emergencies when the ready help of a volunteer service may "save the situation," as happened more than once in the experience of the Canadian Army Medical Corps in France.

The final evolution of Dunant's vision is a combination of both ideals. In the first place, a medical service, now fully recognized as one of the most important departments of the army, and financed out of the revenue of the country; and, in the second place, a recognized voluntary service, supplementing the work of the army to some extent but rendering also the class of service which a patient in a civil hospital might expect to receive from his family and friends.

By the Hague Convention of 1899, the Red Cross agreement was extended to include sailors and prisoners of war. During the present war, by special arrangement between the belligerents, it has included also the care of interned civilians and the crews of torpedoed ships.

Both branches of Red Cross work—official and voluntary—are permitted to use the Red Cross, although it is often supposed that "Red Cross" work is essentially voluntary, and the Red Cross Societies thus receive

both approbation and criticism which belong rightly to the medical corps.

The fundamental idea of the Red Cross is the provision, under the safe conduct of a recognized flag, of care for combatants put out of action, either by wounds, sickness, or imprisonment; and the term "Red Cross" is only used properly when applied to such service. It is true that this service may assume a thousand different forms, but its ultimate objective must be the "combatant-put-out-of-action," either temporarily or permanently. It is the condition of the recipient, and not the type of service or the class of article provided which determines whether they come under the category of "Red Cross."

It is true that in time of peace, and outside the zone of war, Red Cross Societies may turn their attention to the alleviation of the ills of civilian life, such as the campaign against tuberculosis or rescue work in emergencies caused by fire or flood; but within the zone of war the Red Cross owes its immunity to attack solely to its consecration to the service of the man-out-of-action; and the strength of the hold of the Red Cross ideal upon the public mind may be gauged by the horror which Germany's deliberate disregard of its significance has caused.

The Belgian Red Cross, with that fidelity to compact which has characterized Belgium throughout the war, was ordered by the German General von Bissing to use its funds and organization for certain duties connected with the supervision of prostitutes. Rather than use the sacred symbol for any unworthy purpose, the Belgian Red Cross on March 26th, 1916, gave up its charter and disbanded—von Bissing appropriating its funds. Subsequently a new Society arose—"The Belgian Red Cross Behind the Lines,"—to which the Canadian Red Cross has had the opportunity of contributing both money and supplies.

But we are well aware that only a very small section of the public understands or cares about the proper legal sphere of Red Cross work. To the average person,

"Red Cross" stands for "war relief" of all kinds, and it would be sheer pedantry to suppose that an article upon "Red Cross" activities in Canada should record only the work of the Red Cross Society. Such an article would give a doubly false impression; for it would rob the army of the credit of the splendid record of the Canadian Army Medical Corps, and would give but a very partial and limited description of the patriotic work accomplished by voluntary societies.

Therefore, having made clear the proper limitation of the term, we shall proceed to describe, under the general term "Red Cross Work," the activities of all the larger voluntary societies, with the exception of the Patriotic Fund, which demands an article devoted solely to its wide activities.[1]

But before describing this work, we may well spend a short time in discussing the necessity and even the advisability of voluntary effort, since both have been questioned during the war.

It has been often asked why it should be necessary to appeal to the general public for assistance of any kind—should not the Government do all that is required for the brave men who have often sacrificed good financial prospects as well as health and ease to serve their country in the forces? Why should these men require any assistance which could conceivably be regarded as a charity?

The difficulties implied in such questions are disposed of when the inspiring motive of Red Cross work is considered. The aim of the Red Cross is to provide an outlet for the love and gratitude of a people towards its protectors; its essence is spontaneity; the "Red Cross" is not a conscript but a volunteer. Its existence implies no slur upon the Government's efficiency, for its sphere of action begins where governmental action ceases. It stands as the aggregate of the nation's love and care for the sick member of the family under circumstances in

[1]See page 170, *et seq.*

which distance renders such care doubly valuable and a hundred times more difficult to display. However efficient may be the Ordnance and the Commissariat and the Pay Office, they cannot satisfy all the "human" needs of the fighting men who do not cease to be sons and brothers, husbands and fathers, because they become soldiers. The Ordnance issue of garments may be above reproach in quantity and quality; but a pair of hand-knit socks from home warms the heart as well as the feet, and a gift of a box of maple sugar has a psychological effect upon the recipient not to be achieved by the most nicely balanced ration ever devised by a dietitian!

Depression and boredom are two dangerous antagonists to the *morale* of the army, and the wise leader of men recognizes the value of the "love-gift" which brings to nerve-racked and homesick lads an ocular demonstration that they are not neglected or forgotten at home. Logically, they may be right who say that the Government should do all and leave no place for voluntary service: psychologically they are wrong; and one of the many discoveries of this war has been the extent of the influence of psychic forces upon military action. For although the experiences of the last three years have thrown doubt upon Napoleon's dictum that the *morale* of an army is more important than its equipment, yet there has never been a war in which an equal amount of attention has been bestowed upon the provision of social intercourse and even artistic enjoyment. The official encouragement of the efficient recreational work of the Y.M.C.A. and the visits of parties of singers and actors to the men in rest billets; the facilities afforded for relations to visit sick men in hospitals, even across the sea, show how highly the men in charge of military operations value the influences of recreation and family affection.

Were the Government itself to attempt to provide and manage such enterprises as these from funds raised by taxation, it would be continually subject to criticism

from its political opponents. A party Government has to tread a narrow path in regard to all expenditures. It must not slip into extravagance on the one hand or restrict efficiency by undue economy on the other. Comfort and not luxury must be its aim; but what two persons—far less two political parties—ever agreed as to the exact place at which the dividing line between comfort and luxury should be drawn? It is in this borderland between necessity and luxury that the sphere of voluntary war service is to be found.

It is on such considerations as these that we base our belief that there is in war a legitimate sphere for the activities of organized voluntary service, neither conflicting with nor superseding that of governmental activities; and further, that the psychic value of such service is a factor which must be reckoned among the causes that make for victory in the field.

But there is another aspect of such service which must not be passed over. Like mercy, it blesses the giver not less than the receiver. However promptly and cheerfully the patriotic citizen may pay his taxes to support the army, the action does not give much opportunity for the satisfaction of his desire to render personal service to his country's defenders. To women, Red Cross work (in its widest significance) early in the war afforded almost the only outlet for their desire to serve and save; and, as such, it has rescued not a few anxious and bereaved ones from melancholia if not from insanity. Indeed the value of the results of Red Cross work upon the *morale* of the army in the field has been only more valuable than its stimulation of courage and enthusiasm at home.

In the work of the Red Cross, every class of the community has taken its share; there must be few individuals, outside of certain non-British communities, that have not rendered service of some description to the cause.

But the reports of organized societies do not contain a complete record of such service; and no history of

voluntary war relief can be accounted accurate which is based upon a survey of organized effort alone. We must not ignore the vast volume of correspondence, of money gifts, and of parcels of every conceivable size, weight and shape which swelled the mail-sacks of the Post Office and followed across the ocean the beloved husband, son, brother, or fiancé who was none the less a member of the family because he had left his home. Of such gifts no record can be kept, no statistics compiled. They are enshrined in the privacy of home life and they express the most sacred emotion of the human heart. For such gifts the German has an eloquent name. He calls them "Liebesgaben" or "love-gifts." If it is lawful to learn even from an enemy, we can borrow from the Hun this beautiful name—for no truer description could be found.

Another class of individual gifts, which might easily be omitted if attention were confined to the records of societies, includes those offered by the possessors of some peculiar talent. In this class, we should include the service rendered by actors, musicians, authors, and artists who offered their gifts for the entertainment of soldiers and sailors or to raise funds for patriotic purposes. In this class, for example, we find Madame Melba, who passed through Canada like a meteor, giving a series of brilliant concerts, the gross proceeds of which were devoted to the Canadian Red Cross Society; and her example was followed by hundreds of other artists, less famous, perhaps, but not less generous. Professional men, busy all day in office or class-room, robbed themselves of well-earned leisure in order to familiarize themselves with the work of some relief society that they might be able to speak or write in its support; or gave their service as honorary secretaries or treasurers of such organizations. Medical men and nurses responded generously to the appeals for assistance in the preparation of Red Cross supplies or for instruction in ambulance and hospital nursing.

The Pulpit and the Press vied with one another in making known the needs and methods of approved patriotic societies and in exhorting the public to support them with liberality. When an accusation of inefficiency or maladministration was heard, the Press, with but few exceptions, took pains to ascertain the facts of the case; and, if compelled to criticize, its criticism was for the most part sympathetic and constructive.

It is impossible to make even an approximate estimate of the number of women rendering personal service in the manufacture of goods, in the organization of societies, or in voluntary attendance upon sick, wounded, and disabled men. It is useless to attempt to appraise the value of their services or the variety of their operations. Debarred for the most part from the opportunity of risking life in the defence of their country, they turned the torrent of patriotism into the channels of lowly service which revived and refreshed the war-worn nerves in battle zone and hospital.

If we turn from the record of personal service rendered to the contributions of money and other property, we are once again confronted by a universality of generosity. Provinces, counties, municipalities, and townships taxed themselves voluntarily in order to make grants for patriotic purposes. Religious, scientific, and educational bodies, historical and debating societies, Canadian Clubs for men and women, fraternal benefit societies; Boards of Trade, Manufacturers' Associations, Trades and Labour Unions, Farmers' and Graingrowers' Associations; political clubs of every hue—all these welcomed opportunities for familiarizing their members with various phases of war relief in order that they might contribute to their support.

In the same spirit, great business firms, mining corporations, and banking houses voted immense sums of money, even straining their chartered powers in order to set a high standard of giving in business and financial circles; while the employés, often on the "One Day's

Photo: Underwood & Underwood

WOUNDED CANADIANS AT A CONCERT AT ST. CLOUD, NEAR PARIS

Pay" system, contributed, in proportion to their means, no less generously.

In the course of the "Whirlwind Campaigns" very large sums, amounting in some cities to millions of dollars, were frequently raised within a short period, generally three or four days. This method of collecting funds originated in the United States, and had been used with great success by the Young Men's Christian Association. It combined a system of minute individual canvass, based upon a card index carefully prepared many months in advance. During the actual campaign, public attention was focussed upon it by every form of advertisement, and its success was proportionate to the interest taken by the people in the cause advocated. When this cause was the proper provision for fighting men or for their dependents, the response might have been expected to be universal and generous, but few were prepared for the *abandon* of enthusiastic giving, both of wealth and service, which such campaigns evoked. In many places, they became a species of public holiday, when flags waved, bands played, and gaily decorated cars dashed through the streets, carrying the canvassers on their quest for money. The campaign was in fact a great game in which the public, the organizers and the canvassers all played their part, and in which the general spirit of good-will and co-operation created an atmosphere highly favourable to liberality.

The "tag" or "flag" days—introduced from England by the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire in pre-war days—realized surprisingly large sums from a great number of small contributions. The Flag Day for France in 1917, which was observed very generally throughout Canada, realized some $125,000.

It is impossible to particularize the thousands of methods adopted to raise money. All the methods employed in ordinary days were utilized, and the needs of war time brought about the invention of many new ones. Perhaps one of the most striking of the new

methods was the raising of funds through the collection and sale of "waste" of all kinds, varying from simple "junk" to valuable heirlooms.

Under these circumstances it was inevitable that there would be some effort to exploit public generosity for private gain, and in 1917 the War Charities Act was passed making it necessary for all organizations operating as War Charities to be incorporated and registered or to operate only under permit of a duly registered society, and imposing penalties on persons and societies appealing to the public as War Charities except under these conditions.

It is natural to turn from this survey of the methods employed for raising funds to enquire by what organizations this work was accomplished. The agencies through which appeals for service and contributions reached the public fall naturally into two classes. In the first, we would include those societies with their branches which were called into existence by war for such special service. In this class would be reckoned the Patriotic Fund Association and the Canadian Red Cross Society. In the second class would be included organizations, not specifically intended for war relief purposes, which undertook "patriotic" work for the period of the war, such as the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire, the Women's Institutes, and practically all women's existing organizations.

Of the first class, little need be said here. Canada was speedily covered by branches of the Red Cross and Patriotic Fund with the specific duty of representing locally the aims and activities of these societies. On these fell the chief responsibility of making their work and needs known to the public, and of collecting the major part of the necessary funds. After four years of war, the Red Cross could boast of some twelve hundred chartered branches and thousands of unchartered auxiliaries, almost all of which had sprung up since the declaration of war.

The work of the societies included in the second class needs a somewhat closer study since the existence of these organizations is in some degree peculiar to Canadian social life.

The various women's organizations speedily "orientated" themselves to meet the new demands for work and funds presented by the war, and adjusted their programmes in order to undertake that description of war work most suited to their members.

The mission boards, with their auxiliary branches in the churches, could not abandon the support of work to which they were already pledged, and their members were quick to see that the mere transference of a subscription from the salary of a Canadian missionary to the relief of a Canadian soldier involved no sacrifice from the donor, and could hardly be reckoned as a "patriotic" subscription. But there was a general desire to take stock of expenditures in church work so as to release all but absolutely necessary funds for the new calls. Get "subscriptions as usual" was the watch-word of the great majority of the members, even though the policy involved in many instances a large measure of self-denial. For the same women who in days of peace were to be found in the Church Dorcas Societies were usually the backbone of the Red Cross and Patriotic sewing circles in time of war. It is probably well within the truth to say that every body of organized women took some share in the preparation of material supplies, hospital necessities, or comforts for the fighting men—and many also undertook the education of public opinion by means of the distribution of literature, or by lectures, reading, and discussions. Even the smaller coteries, organized specifically for self-improvement, turned their attention to making garments, and proved conclusively that an interest in literature, art, or history does not exclude efficiency in handiwork. Such organizations as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the various Franchise Societies, adapted rather

to the propagation of principles than to the collection of patriotic funds, turned their attention to the material needs produced by the war, and raised large sums for war relief of all kinds, while the W.C.T.U. largely extended its work in military camps.

Hundreds of new societies sprang up sporadically to meet war needs under a multitude of appropriate names —Patriotic Leagues, Kitchener Clubs, Knitting Guilds— rendering valuable assistance to the societies which were organized to administer (as well as to collect) funds and material.

These patriotic enterprises generally represented a rearrangement rather than a new enlistment, of workers, although the formation of "Battalion Auxiliaries," which banded together the women folk of both officers and men of some particular battalion for mutual encouragement and for combined work for their own men, introduced an altogether new alignment of women workers.

The continued evolution of new needs as the war passed from one stage to another, rendered necessary a parallel development and readjustment of voluntary auxiliary effort. The formation of great training camps throughout Canada afforded scope for the provision of canteen and recreation tents, club houses, and rest rooms; and the work was extended more widely when wounded men began to return from overseas. In this work there were many willing volunteers, but it ultimately passed generally into the hands of the Young Men's Christian Association, which organized a new department, recognized by the military authorities as responsible for providing social life for the men, both in training and on active service. The remarkable success of their efforts called forth a hearty and generous response from the public, who recognized the value of an organization which could supply decent places of recreation and wholesome entertainment for young and untried troops. In three years, the Y.M.C.A.'s Red Triangle became almost as well known as the Red Cross as a sign denoting an expres-

sion of the goodwill of the people at home towards the men in the forces. Their recorded expenditure on war work in three years amounted to nearly one million and a half dollars, with one hundred branches overseas; one hundred and five secretaries and seven hundred subordinate personnel detailed from the ranks were employed on war service, at home and abroad.[1]

The employment of large numbers of young women in munition factories or on farms opened a sphere of war work to the Young Women's Christian Association also. The provision of lodging houses, canteens, and clubs for young women was not less important than that of providing proper recreation for the troops, and once more a new army of volunteers was called out to supply the need. The provision of Hostess Houses in military camps, under the sign of the Blue Triangle, afforded a homelike place of meeting, under the auspices of the Y.W.C.A. for the soldiers' women relatives and friends.

We cannot leave the work done by women's organizations without a word of recognition of the part played by the two most widely represented throughout the country—the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire and the variously named Provincial Leagues, Clubs, and Institutes of the farm women. It would not be very far from the truth if we regarded the one as representing the women of the towns and the other as the expression of the work and ideas of the women of the country, though we are aware that the distinction should not be pressed too far.

The Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire, with their highly centralized organization, is peculiarly fitted to concentrate upon a given piece of work, and the object of the Order ordains that such work should be patriotic and imperial in nature. The war provided a magnificent field of action for such an Order, and the

[1] A notable development of Y.M.C.A. work was the effort to educate the men while in the Army; both the military authorities and the universities co-operating in the scheme which was inaugurated and financed by the Canadian National Council of the Y.M.C.A.

opportunity was promptly embraced. The various chapters were free to engage in any kind of war work that commended itself to the judgment of the members; and in the first three years of the war over $2,000,000 in cash was registered at the Head Office as raised for various phases of war work. So remarkable was the total sum contributed that we append a statement of the amount raised in one period of twelve months as reported to the Head Office of the I.O.D.E.[1]

Remarkable as were the results achieved by the I.O.D.E., those of the women of the rural communities were not less noteworthy. It was, indeed, only through the war that the nation came to realize the vast store of energy, ability, and experience to be found among both the men and women of the farms and townships. They not only proved their patriotism by their gifts, but they evinced a capacity for leadership which was not recognized in pre-war days. Especially was this true of the women. Many whose childhood had been spent in homes where family needs were too urgent for a handy girl to be spared from home to complete her education, proved to be efficient officers in the Institute or Home-Makers' League. An examination of the reports of some Ontario Institutes shows letter after letter describing work well planned and carried through to success. Some of these letters are far from orthodox in spelling and punctuation, but the work described was efficient enough. Here is a specimen of such a report. It comes from a very poor and sparsely-settled district:

"This statement is not just as correct to the cent as it should be but this being a small place and we took the work up in an Institute book and never expecting the war to last so long but we shall endevour to keep a strict

[1]The Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire in the provinces of Canada raised for War Work, April, 1916, to April, 1917: Alberta, $50,533.43; British Columbia, $55,962.00; Manitoba, $87,000.00; Nova Scotia, $13,053.00; New Brunswick, $35,000.00; Ontario, $345,611.00; Prince Edward Island, $1,671.00; Quebec, $82,000.00; Saskatchewan, $65,250.00; Yukon Territory, $16,521.00; Total $752,601.43.

account seperate from this out. We have made our most money for the Red Cross by having a big sale of materials in the Town Hall that we got free for war purposes 8 ladies are apointed 2 north 2 south 2 east 2 west we canvas everybody some gives money we take everything we can get from peserves to turnips potatoes chickens dead or alive we never refuse anything Then we have our sail once a year and sell it off."

The Institute referred to had raised some $900 in three years and made over five thousand garments.

An Institute in a small Ontario town reports a total amount of nearly $5,000 raised for war purposes, $650 in hand and over ten thousand garments made, including 2,784 pairs of socks. The strictly audited account sheet and orderly catalogue of supplies, all accurately typed, would not have disgraced the annual report of a large business firm.

The children of Canada were not behind their elders in their desire to do their bit in the war. Every community-wide effort found in the schools, public, separate, and private, a ready and enthusiastic response. No "whirlwind campaign" was complete without the offerings of the children and the touch of the picturesque which they added to the *mise en scène* of the campaign.

Trained and led by their teachers, who cheerfully sacrificed leisure and savings to promote their pupils' projects, the children developed not only a new standard of giving but also a new sense of the importance of their share in the well-being of the nation. They learned geography as they followed the movements of the various fleets and armies, and they learned co-operation and self-sacrifice and perseverance in their efforts to minister to their needs. Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in their smart uniforms put their motto into practice and were "prepared" to carry out any patriotic duty assigned to them; while the Cadets bore themselves with the air

appropriate to an integral part of the fighting forces of the country.

Hitherto we have dealt with the achievements of the organizations auxiliary to the societies which actually administered Canada's voluntary gifts and carried them to the desired recipients. Before dealing with the work of these societies, we must record the results of certain important appeals for assistance.

The first united voluntary offering of Canada after the declaration of war was the collection made by the women of Canada for a Hospital Ship as a gift to the Imperial authorities. Initiated by a member of the Daughters of the Empire, it was organized by a committee of representatives of all the great women's societies in Canada and raised the splendid total of $283,107.39. At the wish of the Admiralty and the War Office, the form of the gift was changed; and $100,000 furnished a fleet of forty motor-ambulances, each carrying the legend, "Canadian Women's Ambulance," placed at the disposal of the War Office; while the remainder was devoted, at the suggestion of the Admiralty, to the building of additional blocks in the Naval Hospitals at Chatham and Haslar. These buildings stand as permanent memorials of the spontaneous loyalty of the women of Canada, a gift described by Surgeon-General Sir Arthur May as "one that will tell our children's children of the help given by Canadian men and women to the old country in her day of need." Each block bears the following inscription: "This gift is the expression of our love and loyalty to our King and Empire and of our undying gratitude to the brave men who are fighting for the vindication of our honour among the nations, for the advancement of civilization, for the freedom of our Empire, and for the safety of our homes."

But the heart of Canada was wide enough and her purse deep enough to permit of her supporting other projects than those organized within the Dominion or

intended only for the relief and comfort of Canadians: she responded liberally also to calls from overseas.

Chief among these was the appeal to the Empire for the support of Red Cross work conducted by the Joint Committee of the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. In 1915 the appeal came with the irresistible force of the first request for help ever issued from the Motherland to the Daughter Dependencies; and in succeeding years it gained momentum from the ever-advancing claims of war sufferers. There will be few pages in the history of Canada's share in the war which will shine more brightly than that which records the response to these appeals. In 1916 the Province of Ontario proudly led the van in generosity and gave to the Red Cross in Great Britain $1,906,000 or not far from one half the whole sum ($4,000,000) realized from the Overseas Dominions.

The establishment of a Canadian Branch of Queen Mary's Needlework Guild, with headquarters at Montreal, afforded to Canadians an opportunity of contributing a share to the work carried on by the great clearing-house for supplies with which not only Her Majesty's name but also her personal interest was closely associated. Many branches were scattered throughout the Dominion and a large quantity of supplies was sent overseas. The "Queen's Birthday Shower" yearly resulted in a donation of some thousands of garments; while the issue of the *Soldiers' Gazette*, giving interesting news for the men at the Front, was a source of great pleasure to the recipients.

Lady Jellicoe's appeal for sailors of the Grand Fleet was warmly supported through the efforts of the National Ladies' Guild of the British and Foreign Sailors' Society, while much good work was done amongst men in the merchant service at the various Canadian ports. In the third year of the war the Navy League greatly enlarged its operations in Canada, collecting funds and

comforts for soldiers, as well as educating public opinion as to the need and uses of the Navy.

As the iron hand of Germany crushed out the life and wealth of the countries which she invaded, societies for the relief of the sufferers sprang into existence. The woes of Belgium struck the first note of a chord of pain which was swelled by Serbia, France, Armenia, Poland, and Palestine as they felt the cold grip of invasion.

Ships laden with foodstuffs and clothing crossed the ocean on their errands of mercy, until the same brutal foe who torpedoed the hospital ship struck also at the vessels laden with relief, and compelled the friends of the stricken countries to send their help in money rather than supplies. The value in money and supplies shipped by such widely-represented societies as the *Secours National* for France and the Belgian and Serbian Relief Funds was very considerable, and, together with grants made by the Canadian Red Cross Society to these countries, cemented a friendship with Canada which will doubtless bring its own reward—unsought yet none the less welcome—in time of peace. The National Council of Women, by its collection of furs for the Italian infantry fighting amongst the mountains, testified to Canada's desire to employ her abundant national resources in the service of the Allies.

As the war advanced, the necessity of providing foodstuffs for the Allies produced a fresh patriotic appeal—not for money, but for personal abstinence and for service in the twin causes of food production and food conservation. Among the "love-gifts" of Canada must be reckoned some part at least of the cargoes of wheat and meat, which bore overseas the result of an appeal to Canadians to abstain voluntarily from using forms of food most needed or best fitted to travel across the ocean for the relief of those on whom the full brunt of the storm of war was falling.

Having now reviewed the work of the many auxiliary organizations, we turn to the record of the Canadian

societies which dealt directly with the relief of the needs of Canadian fighting men through their own agencies—the Canadian Red Cross Society, the St. John Ambulance Association and Brigade, and the Canadian War Contingent Association.

At the beginning of the war, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, Governor-General of Canada, formed a committee to be called the National Relief Committee, consisting of representatives of the Red Cross, St. John Ambulance, and the Canadian Army Medical Corps, and a delineation of spheres of action was decided upon. The Army Medical Corps undertook to furnish all Canadian military hospitals with the necessities of hospital work and to supply the whole of the necessary personnel, selecting the doctors and surgeons, the nursing sisters, and orderlies. The Red Cross Society undertook to make all appeals for money, to supply extra equipment of all kinds not included in the necessaries of the Army Medical Corps, while the St. John Ambulance was to train and select all voluntary personnel called for by the medical authorities, the expenses of equipping and transporting such personnel being defrayed by grants from the funds raised by the Canadian Red Cross Society. To this arrangement, the Canadian War Contingent Association, charged with the duty of collecting "comforts" for combatant troops, was subsequently added.

The history of the splendid achievements of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem links up the Great War of to-day with the Crusades of the Middle Ages; and the merciful work of the Order gained fresh glories on modern battlefields through its Association and Brigade.

In times of peace, the St. John Ambulance Association had trained men and women through First Aid and Home Nursing classes to meet the emergencies of industrial and domestic life; in time of war it mobilized these trained assistants through the Brigade, and placed them at the disposal of the medical services. Many a man

in the combatant ranks found his "First Aid" training of priceless value, while orderlies and stretcher-bearers found in war an opportunity of demonstrating the value of a policy of "preparedness." Through the Brigade, forty-seven male and two female orderlies enlisted in the service of the Royal Army Medical Corps; two hundred and fifty trained assistants (V.A.D.) were placed at the disposal of the Joint War Committee in Great Britain, while eighty-eight trained nurses were selected, equipped, and mobilized for service overseas. In the Nursing Divisions throughout the country, hundreds of young women eagerly awaited the summons to work overseas, undeterred by the dangers of the ocean and the hardships of voluntary auxiliary work in the hospitals.

The splendidly equipped hospital of the Order of St. John at Etaples absorbed the services of many of the Canadian volunteers, and boasted a Canadian ward—equipped by a grant from the Canadian Red Cross Society. This hospital was destroyed by bombs in 1918.

The Canadian War Contingent Association was organized in the first month of the war at the request of the British War Office to care for the welfare of Canadians in the combatant forces overseas, under the leadership of the High Commissioner for Canada.

Before the arrival of the First Contingent, the Association, with the approval of the British Government, undertook the equipment and management of the Queen's Canadian Military Hospital in the residence lent by Sir Arthur Markham at Beachborough Park, Shorncliffe. The hospital, under the direction of well-known Canadian surgeons and physicians, obtained widespread support from Canadians on both sides of the Atlantic and more especially from the Order of Freemasons.

As the Canadian forces reached the camps and trenches overseas, the work of the Association in collecting and distributing comforts developed rapidly, and a very completely organized system was established by which

Canadian Official Photograph

SIR ROBERT BORDEN IN FRANCE
Chatting with a patient at a Base Hospital

the commanding officers of each unit were encouraged to "requisition" on the Association for the needs of their men. Very varied were their needs—ranging from shirts and woollens to tobacco, toilet requisites, relishes of all flavours and soaps of every scent. With the exception of socks, the well-equipped Canadian army required few garments beyond the ordnance kit; while the rations needed only to be supplemented with delicacies from home such as fruit, candies, and pickles. Requests for these "comforts" to be forwarded to certain battalions were frequently conveyed by cable. On one occasion a cable was sent out from Canada requesting that a certain battalion be supplied with "soup, socks, and candies." The return cable stated, "Have despatched soap, books, and candles as requested." Luckily, the second list contained articles usually as welcome as the first; but the battalion must have wondered! In the records of the Dominion Statistician, the C.W.C.A. is credited with cash support from Canadian sources amounting to some $141,000, while approximately 17,000 cases of goods were shipped overseas. In one period of four months, the C.W.C.A. distributed 100,000 pairs of socks. The close connection of the C.W.C.A. with the Canadian Red Cross Society provided Canadians with a clearing-house for supplies intended for Canadians overseas, both combatant and invalided.

The Field Comforts Commission carried on work of the same nature, but on a somewhat smaller scale. Its income, derived from Canadian sources, as reported by the Dominion Statistician, amounted in the first three years of the war to about $14,000. The Commission dealt largely with parcels for individual men, or with units smaller than battalions.

The Red Cross Society throughout the world occupies an unique position among voluntary organizations, inasmuch as it alone operates by international agreement, confirmed by ratified treaties. In Canada it is also by its charter designated as the official channel through which

voluntary aid of all kinds should be tendered to the military authorities.

We have already reviewed the agreement by which various functions for relief were assigned by the National Relief Committee to the St. John Ambulance Association and Brigade and to the Canadian War Contingent Association, and the duties undertaken by the Army Medical Corps with regard to the enlistment of nurses and other personnel.

What sphere of action was left for the Red Cross? There still remained the relief of sick and wounded and prisoners of war, in co-operation with the military and naval authorities. In the first instance, such assistance was rendered entirely to the sick of the Canadian contingents—the camp hospitals at Valcartier and Salisbury Plain being the recipients of the earliest consignments of Red Cross supplies; but it speedily became apparent that the sympathy of Canada was wider and her purse deeper than would suffice to meet merely the needs of her own, though to them first her love must flow out. The specific duty of the Red Cross was to raise the necessary funds for the preparation, transportation, and distribution of medical and surgical supplies for the sick, to supplement the hospital and ambulance accommodation supplied by Government, and to provide for prisoners of war and interned civilians necessary food and clothing.

At first sight these functions might appear to be somewhat restricted, for the public is apt to regard "hospital" work as beginning with a hospital ward and ending with a convalescent home. But a day in the office of the Central Executive of the Red Cross or an examination of its files of correspondence would speedily correct this idea.

Although the Red Cross operated strictly within the limits of its charter, the Canadian people regarded "Red Cross" as synonymous with "war relief" and therefore addressed to it countless enquiries, all of which had to be dealt with either by giving the desired information or

by directing the enquirer to the right fountain of knowledge.

One of the hardest tasks was to dispose of offers of personal service. The declaration of war called to the colours thousands of brave and adventurous young men who found in the ranks of the navy and army a career through which they could express their patriotic enthusiasm. Their sisters, not less adventurous and equally patriotic, hastened also to place themselves at the disposal of their country; and the Red Cross seemed to very many the most likely channel of service.

It speedily became apparent that war opened few doors for the untrained worker. A pathetic ignorance of the standards of modern military hospital work was revealed by the countless letters in which a complete lack of nursing experience was the chief qualification of the would-be nurse, who generally aspired to go direct to the trenches. To direct such enquiries to the St. John Ambulance for training in First Aid and Home Nursing was an easy matter, but to the high-spirited girl the mere attendance at lectures seemed only a degree less dull than knitting socks or sewing shirts. Yet to some of those who followed the advice thus given, there dawned a glorious day when they donned the grey uniform of the St. John Brigade and sailed away to lend a hand to hard-worked Nursing Sisters overseas.

If tragedy lurked behind many such offers, there were few days when comedy did not peep out of the mail-bag. "Dear Sir:—How many stitches do you put in a colra belt?" was the query addressed to the President of the Society, who had never put a stitch in anything but a wound and needed feminine assistance in recognizing the identity of a cholera-belt, shrouded in such unfamiliar garb.

An insatiable thirst for statistics of all sorts had also to be satisfied as far as possible; though when asked to give the number of pyjamas worn by the Allied Armies the end to be attained seemed scarcely worth the effort

involved in such an exhaustive enquiry. Many requests for information came from aspirants for literary fame, or from newspaper men and women in search of copy with regard to work in which they rightly judged the public to be deeply interested. And such information the Society gladly afforded.

Rarely did a day pass without bringing an offer of a song, play or poem, to be sold or performed for the Red Cross. Sometimes the offer was nothing more than an attempt to use the Red Cross for advertising purposes; sometimes it was a genuine offer of service; and the task of discrimination needed both a lawyer and a literary critic. Luckily, the Red Cross could always rely upon voluntary service in every line of life, and could call upon experts to give advice and assistance in times of perplexity.

The value of expert advice in Red Cross work on such matters as the preparation of surgical supplies and hospital garments was obvious, but it was equally necessary to appeal to motor experts in the matter of ambulances and lorries; to an expert in textiles for advice as to the right price and the best moment at which to purchase the immense quantities of garments and material necessary for the Society's work; to an advertising agent to make known the Society's needs as well as its work; to professors of botany to survey the supply of sphagnum moss suitable for dressings; or to photographers to prepare films and slides illustrating the Society's work.

The preparation of canned fruits, vegetables and soups called out the energy of another set of workers; and the establishment of a Red Cross Fruit Kitchen not only standardized the preparation of this class of food for Red Cross workers, but provided our wounded men with a most acceptable addition to their hospital rations.

The organization of the work throughout the country was necessarily an important item in the activities of the Central Office. In four years, as we have seen, some twelve hundred chartered branches of the Red Cross

sprang into existence, with perhaps twice as many unchartered auxiliaries, and to all of these it was necessary to issue information and directions as well as to the organized women's organizations which gave such loyal support to the Society's activities.

Correspondence with the military hospitals within Canada, and the necessary business connected with filling their indents, naturally became very considerable as the number of military hospitals increased, and involved also correspondence with the various government departments concerned. The building and operation of Red Cross Lodges in connection with military hospitals for returned men within Canada gave Red Cross workers an opportunity for personal service to the soldiers and their feminine visitors. Letters and telegrams of enquiry with regard to missing, wounded or prisoner relations generally involved cables to England; and no form of assistance rendered by the Society gave greater relief and satisfaction than this use of the cable for those too poor to avail themselves of this method of easing anxiety or ending suspense. Sometimes the necessary information could be supplied from information already on file. A mother walked into the Head Office one day with a letter from her prisoner son. He had been taken prisoner six months before, but not a single line had ever reached her from him. Now she came, anxious to get his name placed on the Society's list in order that he might immediately begin to receive food and clothing. Imagine the delight of the mother and the satisfaction of the Society's officer when proof was produced that the lad had been receiving and acknowledging his food parcels for the preceding four months! A subscription of two dollars was the mother's thank-offering for the Society's care of her son; and the labour of compiling the card index of prisoners was amply repaid.

The abounding zeal of the Red Cross workers was not always according to knowledge, and the publication of instructions as to materials, manufacture and shipment

of goods required was undertaken within a few months of the outbreak of war. *Suggestions for Work*—a little leaflet easy to fit into a business envelope—was distributed, free of charge, by thousands; and was followed by *War Work*, a pamphlet which included all the information given in *Suggestions* with the addition of a description of the work and needs of the four organizations represented in the National Relief Committee. Paper patterns in unlimited quantities were prepared and issued to the Society, free of charge, by the Butterick Co., while samples of other articles were made at the Society's Headquarters. The monthly *Bulletin*, averaging some 50,000 copies a month, gave genuine information as to Red Cross work. The organization of the work under Provincial Branches relieved the Head Office of much detailed work, but the preparation and distribution of literature remained throughout an important item of business.

By co-operation of the railway and express companies, the problem of transportation was greatly simplified, but the Red Cross warehouses at Montreal and Toronto and all the ports were manned by a staff competent to insure the prompt and careful shipment of all supplies. As the submarine menace diminished the amount of shipping available, government regulations became more and more stringent; but both the British Admiralty and the Canadian Government accorded preferential treatment to Red Cross supplies. By this means the Red Cross became the bridge across the ocean over which almost all voluntary gifts travelled; and in spite of occasional reports and rumours to the contrary, the percentage of Red Cross goods lost from any cause was negligible.

In the first four years of the war, 182,951 cases of goods were shipped from Canada to the society's warehouses in England. These included such items as 2,164,289 pairs of socks, 28,200 lbs. of tobacco and 11,510,000 cigarettes. The value of this vast mass of material can only be conjectured: probably $14,000,000 would not overshoot the mark.

The collection of funds and material within Canada constituted but one side of the work of the Canadian Red Cross Society, and it became necessary at a very early period in the war to establish in England an office to carry on the Society's affairs. The appointment of a Commissioner, with the subsequent addition of Assistant Commissioners and a War Committee, provided for the direction of the work which, beginning by gifts of supplementary supplies to Canadian Hospitals, developed into a great business with many departments, subject to almost daily modification as the needs of the war fluctuated.

To furnish the Army Medical Corps with supplementary equipment in the shape of hospitals and motor ambulances was one of the earliest calls on the Society. The Duchess of Connaught Red Cross Hospital at Cliveden, the beautiful home of Major the Hon. Waldorf Astor; the King's Canadian Red Cross Convalescent Hospital at Bushey Park, lent by His Majesty to the Society; the Princess Patricia Special Hospital at Ramsgate; the Buxton Special Hospital—all altered and equipped at the expense of the Society but officered by the Canadian Army Medical Corps, provided some three thousand additional beds to the accommodation at the disposal of the military authorities, while a fleet of some two hundred motor ambulances (averaging a cost of $2,500 each) serving in England and France, carried thousands of gallant men from the torments of the battlefield to the skilful tendance of doctor and nurse.

One of the largest motor ambulance units in France was that of the Canadian Red Cross with headquarters at Etaples. Rest Homes for Nurses provided a haven for some of the hundreds of brave women who risked life and health and reason in their desire to alleviate the sufferings of the sick and wounded.

The distribution of the supplies made or shipped from Canada as well as those bought in England constituted one of the most important branches of this work over-

seas, both in England and France. Supplies were issued to Hospitals and Convalescent Homes only on the indent or requisition of the commanding officer—a very necessary precaution for the safety of the goods and for the avoidance of waste, and the only piece of "red tape" attached to the issue of Red Cross goods; but even this precaution was not insisted upon in the war zone, where, in the heat of an engagement, a mere telephone message from an overtaxed dressing-station to Red Cross Headquarters sufficed to bring the necessary equipment, carried by the Society's powerful electric motor lorries. Besides the warehouses attached to the office in London, a depot for Red Cross supplies was established in the Folkestone district to serve the many Canadian hospitals and scattered patients in that part of England, while Red Cross store rooms, under special orderlies, were a part of the equipment of the hospitals we have already mentioned. In France, a depot at Boulogne with various advanced stores dependent upon it, served the needs of the Canadian military hospitals and other medical units in France, while a great *baraque*, built and loaned by the French Government, housed the stores for distribution to the needy hospitals of France. There is no more touching file of correspondence in the Society's archives than the letters of gratitude received from the staff and patients in these French hospitals. "I wept when I saw the piles of sheets," wrote one superintendent; "I did not know that Canada loved France like that." The hospital at Vincennes, erected by the Canadian Red Cross as a gift to the French nation, will rank as a permanent memorial of Canada's sympathy and admiration for France in the day of her grievous visitation.

But the Society's activities were not limited to the provision of equipment and supplies and the erection of hospitals and homes. There was another and more intimate aspect to its work—more human, more affectionate. Military operations demand the subordination,

almost the elimination of individual personality, but mutilation and disease demand the most minutely individualistic treatment. The exigencies of military operations may demand the establishment of great hospitals harbouring a thousand men, but each man in each cot has his distinct and separate needs and claims. It was eminently appropriate that the department of the Red Cross which recognized and responded to these claims, should be organized and officered by women, with their natural aptitude for a labour which required endless sympathy, tact, and patience. Side by side with the administration of the stores by wholesale distribution to hospitals and depots grew up a bureau which sought to touch the individual sick or wounded Canadian—to enquire for him when reported missing, to minister to him when sick or in prison. A network of registered visitors was spread over Great Britain, always ready to visit the lonely and possibly homesick Canadian whom fate had flung into some hospital or home within their reach. Who can estimate the value of thousands of letters written by these visitors to assure or comfort the relatives and friends at home in Canada? What better proof of his country's gratitude could a sick man receive than the sight of the "comfort bag" hanging by his bed, the fruit and flowers, or cigarettes brought by his visitor, or his own "home" newspaper to wile away the long hours of convalescence! Trifles all: but trifles which sometimes turned the scale between despair and hope—between life and death.

The Society's expenditures, at the end of the third year of the war, on different forms of tobacco for distribution to invalided men, amounted to $6,250 *per month*—a sum which will give some idea of the magnitude of this work; while *in one week*, after heavy fighting, one of the various departments of the Bureau reported being in postal communication with nine thousand men. These figures suggest the vast amount of detailed personal effort required and given ungrudgingly to meet the

needs of individual men. When the number of Canadians in captivity rose to some twenty-five hundred and depended upon the Society for food and clothing, the Prisoners of War department was organized to provide for their needs at a cost of half a million dollars a year.[1] When the wounded began to return to Canada in large numbers, the Red Cross hastened to place comforts of all sorts for the relief and entertainment of the men on the trains and ships upon which they travelled, and co-operated with the Army Medical Corps and Military Hospital Commission in providing for the needs of the invalided men within the Dominion.

Such is a bird's-eye view of the work of a society whose records glow with human interest and reveal the story of service and sacrifice at home evoked by the splendid spectacle of service and sacrifice on the battle-field. With this meagre outline of Red Cross work, we close this brief survey of Canada's "love-gifts," feeling that the society which ministers to the needs of those who have earned, at loss of life and health and freedom, the passionate gratitude of their country, may justly claim to mark the climax of patriotic endeavour.

The time has not yet come when the measure of Canada's patriotism can be justly appraised. Not by what we give but by what we withhold is true generosity reckoned.

And if a thought of pride or self-satisfaction should arise as we review the long records of Canada's gifts of wealth and material, it will be crushed by the over-whelming weight of the realization of the suffering heroism of Canada's sons who gave their wealth and health, their liberty and their life, to purchase the safety and secure the freedom of those who, in humble gratitude, can offer but a mite in return.

[1]This department issued some 15,000 food parcels a month under strict government regulation, while the work of following up the prisoners, constantly shifted from camp to camp, involved an enormous amount of detailed labour.

3. Canadian Red Cross Society Information Bureau

On February 11th, 1915—the day after the 1st Battalion of the Canadian Contingent arrived in France—Lady Drummond opened the Information Bureau of the Canadian Red Cross at 14 Cockspur Street, London, where the Commissioner, Colonel Hodgetts, had already established the headquarters of the Society in England. Its object was twofold—to collect and distribute information concerning the sick and wounded, the missing and prisoners of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, and to cheer the men suffering in hospital by bringing them personal sympathy and the little "comforts" which their dear ones at home are too far away to give.

Lady Drummond gathered about her a small group of four or five devoted women, whose number increased to hundreds,—all voluntary workers who felt it their greatest privilege to give their time and strength in the service of those who were fighting for their country. Two rooms were placed at the disposal of the Bureau when it was opened, but within two years it needed twenty-five to carry on its varied activities.

To find visitors as a connecting link between this Bureau and all our wounded in hospital in the British Isles must have at first appeared a stupendous task. Lady Drummond, however, attended meetings of the National Union of Women Workers, of the Girls' Friendly Society, and of other organizations, and was given the use of membership lists to get in touch with women who might be willing to co-operate in visiting our men in hospital throughout the country. The heads of military hospitals had already been approached and had courteously signified that special facilities would be given to Canadian Red Cross visitors.

From this nucleus developed five large departments of work—the Enquiry, Parcels, Newspapers, Drives and Entertainments, and Prisoners of War. The last depart-

ment was formed immediately after the Second Battle of Ypres, early in May, 1915, at the special request of the Commissioner, Colonel Hodgetts, to deal with the needs of our prisoners of war. Lady Drummond was fortunate in getting Mrs. Rivers Bulkeley to take charge of it, with Miss Stikeman (for some time) to supervise the sending out of parcels. In December, 1916, this Department, coming under the Central Prisoners of War Committee, was separated from the Information Bureau and constituted a distinct department of the Society.

The Enquiry Department, under the management of Miss Erika Bovey, was the first and is the largest of the departments. It covers a wide field of work and is divided into eight sections, each under a competent head. Information for answering enquiries and for reporting to families on the condition and progress of their relatives in hospital, is obtained from four sources.

1. Lists of casualties are sent daily to this department from the Canadian Record Office.

2. Wounded men, on their arrival at Southampton and Dover, are given "blue cards," stamped and addressed to this office for them to fill in on arrival in hospital, with their name, regimental number, battalion, the name of the hospital, and the name and address of their next-of-kin.

3. There are nine hundred hospitals in the United Kingdom where authorized representatives of the Society visit the men and report weekly on their progress.

4. A letter is written to the medical officer when fuller information is required than the visitor can give.

An important section of this department is the recording of casualties. A card is made out for every man in hospital from the information obtained through the Record Office lists and the "blue cards" the men send in. The visitors are depended on for further information, and their weekly reports are entered on the back of the cards. When an enquiry is made about a man, his card

LADY DRUMMOND
Head of the Information Department, Canadian Red Cross Society, London, Eng.

is found in the files and his whole history, since his arrival in hospital, can be had in a few minutes. There are at present nearly a thousand visitors. They wear a distinctive badge, which Lady Drummond in a letter to the first visitors said would be "significant, not of the nationality of the wearer, but of her truly Imperial service on behalf of the Canadian Expeditionary Force."

Visitors are appointed from the Head Office, and, in localities where there are a number of hospitals, a chief visitor acts as convener. Each visitor is kept supplied with report forms and stamped envelopes, addressed to this office. She is also sent a paper with instructions as to her duties and giving information on many points that may be useful to the men. Her interest does not by any means end with reporting to this office on a man's condition of health. She tries to make him feel that, through the Canadian Red Cross, she represents as far as possible his friends at home. She pays him friendly visits, sees that he gets his home papers and any extra comforts he may wish. When the men are able to be out she often plans entertainments for them and invites them to her home. One visitor writes that she considers it a "great privilege" to be given the opportunity of thus bringing some comfort to those who have offered all in the time of the Empire's need. The many letters written by the men after leaving hospital and by the mothers and wives at home show that the visitors have not failed in their endeavour. The following are extracts from a few such letters:

". . . I was glad to hear from you and to know that he is so cheerful. I hope he keeps that way and would be glad to have you do all you can to keep him in that cheery spirit. I don't know how to thank you for being so kind to him, he so often spoke in his letters of his visitors and how kind and good they are to our boys."

". . . I hope you will understand how I, his mother, appreciate anything you do for him. To know he has one so kind as you near him consoles and helps me."

". . . It is a great comfort to know that our loved ones, so broken and suffering, have such kind friends when so far from home and their own dear ones. I am pleased to know you will still have a care for him and call on him when you can."

". . . It's a pleasure to know that some one visits them in their sickness and loneliness, especially when those dear to them are unable to do so."

One feels that no service is too small, no sacrifice too great, that brings solace to the heroic women who are silently bearing the heaviest burden of the war.

After the visitors' reports have been entered on the men's cards, letters are written to their "next-of-kin" in Canada. It can usually be arranged that one person continues to report on the same man—and often it is some one from his own town. These letters are no mere formal statement of the men's condition but are personal letters expressing the interest and sympathy of the writer. About 1,800 letters are written every week, but after the Battle of Vimy Ridge, where the Canadian casualties were unusually heavy, 1,076 letters were written in one day.

Every Canadian mail brings many letters of thanks from relatives, whose burden of anxiety has thus been lightened by news of their dear ones. A few short quotations may best show the heartfelt gratitude expressed in all of them.

". . . Your letter has taken a load off my mind and my heart is very grateful to you for your kindness. The prayer from my heart is that God will bless you in your good work."

Another mother writes:

"In answer to your several kind letters concerning my son, I wish to thank you very much. They have been a great source of comfort and have helped to make the load lighter in these, my trying hours, and I do not feel that I can express my appreciation to you for your work to me and mine. It seems now as if the only thing I

can do is to pray to God for His blessing and that He may give you the strength and courage you daily need in the great work you are engaged in."

From a wounded soldier:

"This is my second Blighty and I felt that I could not let a moment go till I wrote you to show you my gratitude and appreciation for your letters to my mother and for all the grand work that your Society is doing. I am only one of the thousands of our boys that have shared in the kindness and good work of the Canadian Red Cross."

Officers are not reported on automatically after they enter hospital, but files are kept, where their name, rank, casualty, and hospital are entered, and, should any be reported seriously or dangerously ill by the Record Office, a letter is written to the medical officer for a special report in readiness for enquiries. Lady Drummond writes a personal letter to every officer and nursing sister in hospital, offering them the services of the Red Cross. If they wish to see a visitor, to get newspapers from home, or to have a drive, they have only to send word by letter or telephone to this office. The restrictions on the use of petrol make it difficult at present (November, 1917) to plan for drives in the many hospital centres outside London, but the matter is under consideration and can probably be arranged satisfactorily.

Arrangements are now being made to have Red Cross representatives go every week to the London hospitals for officers and nurses, in order that they may have a fuller opportunity of availing themselves of the advantages that the Red Cross offers. It has been possible, through the generosity of many kind friends of the Red Cross in Great Britain, to arrange for convalescent officers to spend their leave in charming country houses, thus enabling them to regain health and strength in the most delightful and congenial surroundings. Lord Milner has given his two beautiful houses in Kent for this purpose, and an attractive house in Staffordshire has

been lent for the use of Canadian convalescent officers and their wives. In about 150 homes in the British Isles, Canadian officers on sick leave are received as guests, remaining from two weeks to a month. There will be no tie more binding between Canada and the Motherland than the memory of the hospitality and companionship enjoyed during these days of convalescence. The Red Cross arranges for an officer to be its guest at a comfortable hotel or boarding house when he wishes to go to some part of the country where, at the time, no invitations are available, or when his "Board" recommends some special locality.

When men are reported "Missing" by the Record Office, this Bureau immediately makes enquiries through the British Red Cross whose "searchers" visit rest camps, base depots, ambulance trains, and hospitals in France and in Great Britain. They find men of the same battalion as the missing men, and by careful enquiry are sometimes able to get definite information as to their fate. All the particulars thus obtained are carefully filed. Lists of the missing are also circulated through prison camps in Germany, thus giving an opportunity to a man knowing anything about a former comrade to write to his family.

All enquiries about men who have been killed in action are also made through the searchers. They are often more successful here than in the case of the missing. Such comforting details as that her boy did not suffer, that he was buried by his comrades, that his grave is marked and will be cared for, bring some ray of comfort to the heart of many a bereaved mother. Often, too, quite unsolicited, the highest tribute is paid to a man's character in words expressing his undaunted courage and the devotion of his comrades to him.

Mrs. David Fraser has been in charge of the Parcels Department for over two years. As the work has grown, room after room has had to be added to the department until now ten rooms scarcely supply the space required

for the amount of work that is carried on. During the past year, 177,027 parcels have been sent out. In April, 1917, the plan was adopted of supplying every man, on his arrival in an English hospital from France, with a kit-bag containing toilet articles and other comforts. The men thoroughly appreciate this arrangement. About half of the kits come from Canada filled and ready to be sent out. A letter from a visitor says: "I would like to tell the ladies who prepare and pack those delightful kit-bags how delighted the men are to get them. Always after they have opened them: 'Oh, thank you *so* much; these are just exactly the things we are needing,' they say to me, and look as pleased as school-boys. It is too bad that I, who have done none of the packing, etc., should get all the pleasure of giving them." Twenty cigarettes a week are sent to each man, and the visitor forwards any request he may make for other "comforts." When the men are very ill or have been "gassed," fruit and delicacies are sent them regularly; designs and silks for embroidery are becoming very popular; already this year three hundred books of instructions with material for making "soft toys" have been given the men; in certain cases crutches, spinal and wheeled chairs are bought for their use and special boots are supplied in great numbers. Last Christmas 22,000 Christmas stockings were sent from Canada for men in hospital, and to these were added by this department 20,000 other gifts. Socks, jerseys, mittens, scarves, and many other "comforts" are sent over by Canadians, all showing how patiently and devotedly women at home are working to enable this department to carry on its work.

The Newspaper Department was opened in August, 1915, under the management of the Contessa Pignatorre, a member of a well-known Canadian family. Newspapers and weeklies are supplied through the kindness of publishers and a large number of private individuals. As many as forty-five large sacks of papers have been received in one Canadian mail. It is one of the duties

of the visitor to send in lists of the papers desired by the men. Not only are newspapers supplied to officers and men in hospital, but they are sent in bulk to convalescent homes, base depots, divisional headquarters in France, to the many clubs for Canadian soldiers, to prisoners of war in Switzerland, and to many men of the forestry and sanitation camps who otherwise might never see a home paper. A visitor writes to this department: "I often wish you could have the pleasure that falls to the good luck of the visitors of the hospital to give out to the Canadians the kit bags and newspapers and to see their smile and to receive their unstinted gratitude."

The department for Drives and Entertainments, carried on by Miss Shillington and Miss Perry, is greatly appreciated by both officers and men in the London district. The drives are so popular that, though sometimes fourteen cars are at the service of this department, arrangements have often to be made a week in advance. A number of ladies not only give their cars for the use of the Red Cross but themselves act as chauffeurs. Drives are taken about the city, to Richmond, Epping Forest, Epsom, Taplow, or any of the other beautiful places in the neighbourhood of London, and picnics are often held. Invitations are continually being received for theatres, concerts, garden parties, teas, etc. One feels that the recreation given our men through this branch of the work is no small factor in the restoration of their health.

The services of this Bureau are now at the command not only of the men of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, but also of Canadians in the Royal Navy and of those attached to the R.F.C. As the Bureau has developed it has become a convincing proof of the value of a wide distribution of work and responsibility with close co-ordination under one head.

The work is exacting and the hours are long, but all are imbued with the spirit of service and with the deep desire to represent worthily the men and women of

Canada to whom we would say, in the words of Laurence Binyon:

'Your hearts are lifted up, your hearts
That have foreknown the utter price.
Your hearts burn upward like a flame
Of Splendour and of Sacrifice."

4. The King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Clubs

Through her work at the Canadian Red Cross, begun early in 1915, Lady Drummond found that an immediate need existed for Residential Clubs for men from overseas when on leave in London. Especially was this need felt by men from the Front, for they themselves were the first to feel that, coming straight from the trenches, they were not fit, without a hot bath and complete change of clothing, to be taken in at any decent hotel.

Lady Drummond realized, however, that the need lay deeper still, that not only good lodging must be supplied our men, but a place where they should receive a friendly welcome and find cheerful and homelike surroundings. Many of these boys come from farms and small towns in Canada, and anyone who has felt the utter loneliness of a large city must realize what they experience, when, war-worn and exhausted, they arrive in the darkened streets of London.

A cable to Canada met with a ready response, and the project for opening a club in London for Canadian non-commissioned officers and men was soon under way. Others, too, who had at heart the welfare of the men from the Dominions, had become keenly alive to the necessity of some such undertaking. The Hon. Mrs. Ronald Greville's generous offer of her house at 11 Charles Street, Berkeley Square, had just been accepted when Mr. Rudyard Kipling approached Lady Drummond on the subject of making some provision for oversea men on their dis-discharge from hospital. He is a frequent visitor at the

hospitals, and had found that men were often depressed at the prospect of spending their sick leave alone in London. He was gratified to learn that the matter was already under way. Mrs. Kipling consented to be Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Earl Grey, Lord Milner, and Mr. Kipling were its first patrons.

On August 4th, 1915—just a year after the Declaration of War—the Maple Leaf Club on Charles Street was opened by the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden, G.C.M.G., Prime Minister of Canada. At first 60 beds were available, later the number was increased to 90, and again to 112.

The movement spread. A residential club for oversea men was organized by the Victoria League, and Peel House was secured for the same purpose: President, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, Bart., then Under Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Their Majesties approved so highly of the work that they expressed their desire to have their names associated with these clubs, which henceforth bore, besides their distinctive names, the Royal title "King George and Queen Mary."

Soon the club in Charles Street was overflowing, and in the spring of 1916, through the liberality of the I.O.D.E., there was added a beautifully-situated house at 5 Connaught Place, near the Marble Arch, with verandas overlooking Hyde Park. In the autumn another I.O.D.E. annex was opened at 13 Connaught Place, then 14 Connaught Place was added. These clubs became so popular among men on leave from training camps and convalescent hospitals that it was decided, if possible, to open others near Victoria Station for the special use of men from the Front. In October and November, 1916, this hope was realized through the munificence of the Ontario Government, and houses at Elizabeth Street and Grosvenor Gardens were opened, thus making four club centres, comprising in all eight houses, and giving accommodation to almost eight hundred men. Every

time that the need for enlarging the work has arisen, the means have been forthcoming. Lady Perley has always been deeply interested in the Clubs, and many generous gifts have been received through her from the Canadian War Contingent Association. The Men's Canadian Clubs of Hamilton and Vancouver and numerous societies, as well as private individuals, have been liberal in their contributions. Members of the I.O.D.E. in London, and of the British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society, have been of great service in helping in the work of canteens and dining-rooms. In raising funds in Canada the committee owes much to the efforts of Mr. Huntley Drummond of Montreal, and of Mr. Angus Sinclair, of Toronto; also to the enthusiastic support of Colonel A. G. Doughty, of the Dominion Archives.

The clubs are managed by a Committee which meets fortnightly. Each club has an officer-in-charge and under him orderlies, whose duties are to register the men's names, examine their passes, receive money for bed and meals, etc. The officers and orderlies are appointed by the military authorities and are in the pay of the Dominion Government. They have all been at the Front and are medically unfit for service abroad. A matron and assistant-matron attend to the housekeeping, and voluntary workers serve in the canteens or dining rooms, and make the beds.[1] Charwomen are employed for the heavier work, and cooks, both capable and good-natured, serve excellent meals and provide hot refreshment for the men at whatever time of night the troop trains arrive. On reading over the weekly menu one finds for breakfast at one shilling—porridge, and either sausages, bacon, eggs or fish, and tea or coffee with bread and butter; for luncheon (served only at one of the clubs) at one shilling—cold meat or meat pies with potatoes, and a sweet or a cheese; and for dinner at one shilling and twopence—soup and a meat or fish course with two kinds of vegetable and a pudding. Food

[1]H.R.H. the Princess Patricia frequently helps at the canteens.

prices are soaring, and there is, needless to say, a considerable deficit each week. At a charge of one shilling a night, the men get hot baths, pyjamas, dressing-gown and slippers, and a comfortable bed with fresh sheets and pillow-cases. At one of the clubs the laundry for the week, consisting almost entirely of bedding and pyjamas, costs over £34. Every man on arrival is given fresh underwear, the old being disinfected and washed, after which it is repaired if fit for further use. The cost of disinfecting now amounts to £120 a month, taking only the two clubs near Victoria Station.

The clubs at Elizabeth Street and Grosvenor Gardens are, as has been said, used chiefly by men from the Front. As the troop trains usually arrive at night, and London in war time, especially in the vicinity of the stations, is as dark as any village, an Overseas Reception Committee of men has been formed to meet the trains and direct or conduct the men to the clubs.

This committee has its headquarters at St. Stephens House, Westminster, and an office on the platform at Victoria Station. Up to date about a quarter of a million of men have been met, of whom the vast majority were Canadians. The expenses, chiefly of transport, are heavy, but the work is a most necessary one, and all the King George and Queen Mary Clubs join in helping to defray them. It may be mentioned that the several branches of these clubs, Victoria League, Peel House, and Maple Leaf Clubs, are represented on a Joint Committee which meets from time to time at the Colonial Office to consider matters common to all. Mr. W. A. S. Hewins, now Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, is by virtue of his office, Chairman of both Overseas Forces Reception Committee and of the joint committee of the clubs. Sir H. Imbert-Terry, Baronet, is the energetic Vice-Chairman of the Overseas Forces Reception Committee.

Arrangements have been made with the military authorities that a paymaster should be at the club to cash the men's cheques when they arrive. One evening

in about an hour and a half £4,750 were paid out. To see these men come in laden with their equipment, tired, muddy, and hungry, and to hear the cheery welcome given to each in turn by the captain in charge, is something never to be forgotten. One night, as the captain extended his hand for a man's pay-book, it was grabbed with the eager words: "By Jove, sir, it's good to have a handshake again." Each man gets a friendly greeting: "Well,—staying with us to-night?" Some few reply, with a happy grin, "No, sir, going home"; or, "No, sir, my wife's here!"—and always the offer is made to those who are going on: "Time for a good hot dinner before your train goes, and you can have a hot bath and a change of under-clothing if you want it." The majority, who are staying, have their kit stored for them and are advised to deposit their money at the club, and to draw it out as it is needed. The amount deposited between November 1st and 17th, 1917, was $317,386. There are times when some discretion is needed on the part of the chief orderly in giving out money—especially late at night. Under these circumstances it usually happens that "the bank is closed" and the amount asked for "is not available." Many a man has expressed his thanks the next morning for the refusal. Liquor is of course not allowed in the clubs. If a man who has been drinking comes in, he is gently but firmly encouraged to remain in the lounge or to go to bed—he is never allowed to go out again in that condition.

This quotation from a mother's letter shows what she feels the Maple Leaf Club has done for her boy:

"Words cannot express the inestimable benefit it has been to my son. His letters written on return to camp gave a glorious account of the kindness and hospitality he received at the Maple Leaf Club. My boy is only twenty-three and young enough to be very lonesome, and I feel as if I must write and express my gratitude for the welcome he received. I was quite happy and con-

tented after reading his letter, and it lightened considerably my burden of anxiety."

Another written by a private at a training camp:

"Dear Madam: The boys of the —th Res. Bn. who had the pleasure of staying at the Soldiers' Club under your management have left it to me to thank you and your Staff for the excellent accommodation and the kind way in which we were welcomed. It has been appreciated very much, and should we ever get the chance to visit London again the Maple Leaf Club will certainly be our stopping-place. Personally I have wondered often if the womenfolk throughout the country will get full credit for the wondrous work they are doing and the many acts of kindness they do for the boys; truly they are doing their bit and doing it well, gladly, and silently."

From the time the clubs were opened until October 1st, 1917, 184,258 beds have been occupied, and 350,342 meals served. No man straight from the trenches is ever refused a hot dinner and a bed; though, owing to lack of accommodation, this often means that men who have been a few days at Grosvenor Gardens and Elizabeth Street have to be asked to go to one of the other clubs to make room for the newcomers. I was told recently by the Captain in charge at one of these clubs that 350 more beds were urgently needed, and no doubt as soon as this need is made known in Canada the means will be promptly provided for opening up another club.[1] At this one club in the week ending November 17th, 1917, 1,511 beds were occupied and 2,064 meals served. These figures are convincing proof that the undertaking has justified itself, but even more so are the remarks of the men and the letters written after they have left. They become attached often to the particular club where

[1]Since writing the above, a cable has been received from Sir William Hearst, K.C.M.G., Premier of Ontario, announcing a further contribution of £4,000 from the Ontario Government for the rental and full equipment of a large club near Victoria Station. This is great and good news. It will of course necessitate the raising of larger funds for current expenses, but we may trust in Canada to meet increasing needs as they arise.

they have been before, and come back to it again and again. One man remarked to the matron at his club, "I couldn't go to any of the others; this is the best of them all." To the enquiry as to whether he had been to the others, he answered: "Oh, no, but nothing could beat this!" Another—from Salonica—said, "We dream Maple Leaf Club out there." He had been at the club eighteen months before, and would go nowhere else when he returned to "Blighty." A man wrote to Lady Drummond after he had returned to the Front:

"Some people have no real idea of what a vital part this sort of thing plays in the morals of the Army. Very few people seem to say it, and so I hope that you will pardon me for being one of the people who cannot help saying what all we men feel every day out on the firing line and when we come home wounded. I have often heard the sentiment expressed by men and officers alike out there that the game would hardly be within the compass of a man's endurance if it was not for the encouragement and devotion of the women at home."

CHAPTER XI

THE CENSORSHIP

THE Censorship, says the British official memorandum, is one of several instruments all designed with the threefold object of preventing information of military value from reaching the enemy, of acquiring similar information for our own purposes, and of checking the dissemination of information likely to be of use to the enemy or prejudicial to the Allies. So far as is consistent with the attainment of the above object, there is as little interference as possible with the transmission of correspondence or the publication of news, and every endeavour is made to safeguard the legitimate interests, private and commercial, of British subjects and neutrals.

In the course of the present war it has become apparent that in the censorship there lay ready to hand a weapon the full value of which was perhaps not anticipated prior to the war, and which can be used to restrict commercial and financial transactions intended for the benefit of enemy governments or persons residing in enemy countries.

The censorship falls naturally into two main departments: (1) The censorship of private and commercial communications, conducted directly under the Army Council; and (2) the Press censorship, exercised—in England—through the official Press Bureau. If confusion is to be avoided, it is essential to remember that the above departments are, for the purposes of actual censorship, distinct and separate organizations, administered by different departments and controlled by different directors.

The censorship of private and commercial communications is organized in two sections: (1) the cable censorship

which deals with all cable messages other than those intended for publication; and (2) the postal censorship controlled by the Postmaster-General. Though for the purposes of actual censorship these two sections are separate organizations, yet in regard to the principles of censorship particular attention has been given to the task of co-ordinating their aims, methods, and results. In Canada, the Chief Cable Censor is the Chief of the General Staff, first military member of the Militia Council. The objects which he is instructed to keep in view may be thus summarized:

1. To prevent assistance being given, or naval or military information being transmitted to the enemy.

2. To prevent the spread of false reports or reports likely to cause disaffection or to interfere directly or indirectly with the success of naval and military operations of British or Allied forces, or likely to prejudice relations with foreign powers or the security, training, discipline, or administration of the British forces.

3. To collect and distribute to the several Government departments and branches of the Department of Militia and Defence concerned all naval and military information derived from the censorship that may be of use to them.

4. To deny the use of British cables to any person or firm, whether British, Allied or Neutral, for commercial transactions intended for the benefit of the enemy.

5. To interfere as little as possible with legitimate British and Neutral trade.

"The Chief Cable Censor," says the British Army Memorandum, "has a delicate task in holding the balance between the advocate of two conflicting conceptions of the ideal censorship. There are those who complain on the one hand that British cables are being used with impunity for transactions conducted ostensibly by British or Neutral firms, but really in the interest of the enemy; and on the other hand that the severity of the censorship is destroying Neutral commerce and

placing a heavy burden upon the British trader. It is almost inevitable that the innocent must sometimes suffer with the guilty, and the more severe the restrictions imposed, the more impossible does it become to avoid the occasional commission of an unintended wrong. Constant care, therefore, has to be and is exercised to ensure that increased effectiveness of censorship is not purchased at the expense of the British trader.

"It is obvious that . . . uniformity of treatment can be obtained only by observing certain broad principles in the censoring of messages. In the interpretation of these principles much must clearly be left to the personal discretion of individual censors. Little difficulty arises in this respect with regard to private telegrams, but the formulation of principles for dealing with trade telegrams was a task requiring considerable time and experience.

"The accepted principle upon which the censorship of commercial cables is now conducted is to withhold, as far as the British cables are concerned, all facilities for carrying on trade with an enemy country.

"All cables accordingly are liable to be stopped which show clear evidence, either by the text of the telegram or by the known facts as to the sender or addressee, that they relate to a transaction, whether in contraband or non-contraband, to which a resident of an alien country is one of the parties. This principle is applied impartially to British, Allied, or Neutral subjects who endeavour to trade with the enemy through the medium of British cables."

The objects of the postal censorship are similar to those of the cable censorship, and there is no intention of interfering with legitimate correspondence. Letters coming directly from the area of military operations are in most cases censored locally, under the orders of the Field-Marshal or General Officer Commanding-in-Chief the British Forces in the Field. Those which appear to have escaped censorship are sent by the Post Office to the censors in London for examination.

Among the critics of the postal censorship, as among those of the cable censorship, there appear to be advocates of two opposite and irreconcilable ideals of censorship. Complaints are sometimes received from the recipients of censored letters that their letters can only have been opened out of idle curiosity. Others, again, complain that the censored letters should never have been permitted to reach them if the censorship were efficiently performed.

Special conditions in this country obviously modify to a certain extent the methods of local censorship, but the general principles are practically the same throughout the Empire.

In the earlier days of the war the duties of Press censorship were combined with those of cable censorship, but it soon became plain that the work required separate organizations. Accordingly the office of Press Censor was assigned to Lieut.-Colonel E. J. Chambers, of the Corp of Guides, himself a well-known journalist, and his office was transferred from the Department of Militia and Defence to that of the Secretary of State.

The Censor's duties have not been easy. The enemy, from the commencement of the war, carried on an insidious publicity campaign with world-wide ramifications. The ambassadors of Germany and Austria to the United States and the Latin-American Republics, by the lavish expenditure of money subsidized newspapers and publishers to issue matter favourable to the interests of their countries and prejudicial to the Allies. It was of supreme importance that, as far as Canada was concerned, this propaganda should be nullified. With this end in view, on November 6th, 1914, regulations were issued as to the prohibition in Canada of newspapers and other publications calculated to be directly or indirectly useful to the enemy, and containing articles or statements calculated to injure the British cause. Power of arrest was given, and a penalty not exceeding a fine of $5,000 or five years imprisonment was involved.

CHAPTER XII

CANADIAN WAR CAMPS

LIGHT mists are common in the Laurentian valleys. Long sunlit days and cool nights give us, in the early, breathless dawn, silver clouds; not unpleasant, but mysterious in their coming and going; not dense, but partially veiling the scenes for a radius of a hundred yards, and blotting out all distant prospects. Such a mist hung low one morning in September, 1914. Behind these billows of chiffon lay Valcartier Camp where 33,000 men were encamped, the first overseas contingent of the Canadian army. The sun was not yet risen. Out of the greyness came the blare of a bugle call, the rattle of artillery harness, the sound of wood-splitting, the neigh of a horse, a man's laugh—varied sounds of an awakening life. Then suddenly the air began to colour. A transfused pink all about us, with a deeper hue in the East, told of the sun beginning another valiant day. In a few minutes the mist had thinned to a mere haze and wonderful things were revealed! Here were four miles of bell-tents, rank upon rank; snow-white, touched with the pink of morning—a very range of mountains in miniature. Here were the infantry lines, on a level plain beside the river. The tents nearest the observer at Headquarters were perhaps two hundred yards away. The farthest looked like a rosy drift of summer cloud. All between lay a divinely beautiful sierra, opalescent and radiant.

With the sun came a light cool wind. Soon other excellencies were revealed. Yonder were the burly hills, round-shouldered as became their age, but showing the riotous colour of a Quebec autumn. Red sumachs were in the middle distance. Then in the forests, climbing up over the hills, a dozen hues of crimson, a hundred tints

of gold made one gasp for very wonder. Behind these were other hills, the colours softened, less raw, less plangent. Still farther were the tips of distant mountains, blue-grey against the sky.

Valcartier, carved out of the hills for the use of the Jacques Cartier River, seemed to have infinite space as well as infinite beauty. The camp, admirably suited for manœuvring large bodies of men, was eight miles long, and nearly four miles wide. Less than half of this land was occupied by tents allotted to any special unit. For example, the rifle butts had 1,700 targets. No such ranges had ever been seen before, at least on this continent. In front of the infantry lines there was ample room for the forces to manœuvre, either in brigade formation or in review. Across the Jacques Cartier River to the northward the artillery had a sweep of 4,000 acres with a mountain in the middle of it—an ideal place for firing practice. For the engineers, there lay the clear saffron-coloured river, about one hundred yards wide, and waiting to be bridged. The first of three floating bridges to be built was thrown across in five hours and forty minutes, a thousand empty barrels serving as pontoons. It carried the heaviest artillery conveniently. For the signal corps there were hillsides admirable for wig-wagging and heliograph work. Roads for route marches led past Valcartier village—where a dozen Waterloo veterans lie buried—towards Lake St. Joseph on the one hand and Charlesbourg and Quebec on the other. For the first time in the military annals of Canada a large force was assembled and had free elbow room.

Coming to the unpainted frame house where Headquarters was situated—a place distinguished by the Union Jack rippling from a tall staff—one noticed that the land lay in two steppes, the greater, perhaps thirty feet below the level of the other. Looking northward, the infantry camp lay to the right hand. It was separated from the other half of the camp proper, where

artillery and cavalry tents were arranged in irregular groups, by a wide and busy street. This was lined on both sides by a succession of new rough-board huts and booths where merchandise desirable for a soldier could be found in great profusion. Pyramids of "pop," pies innumerable, bananas to no end, ice cream cones, picture postcards, magazines, dry goods, in moderation, were found here. A story might be written of the "profiteers" who sought to abuse their privilege by charging high prices, but who were broken and defeated by the establishment of regimental canteens. Early in the life of the camp there was a moving-picture show, but the proprietor so tried the patience of the men by high charges and small returns that they burned down the shack one evening, chased the speculator elsewhither, and rested content with the admirable show at the Y.M.C.A. tent.

To the left of the main street the land was less level but there was room for an east-and-west avenue leading to the official camp entrance and the guard tents. Near these were the cavalry lines with their rope corrals and their canvas mangers. Some 5,000 horses were in camp, the most of them magnificent animals groomed to the King's taste. The guns and ammunition wagons had their separate allotment. Then to the southward, between Headquarters and the railway-siding, were the tents of the Army Service Corps and the frame warehouses and railway switches of the Ordnance Department.

The picture was as vast as it was fascinating. As the morning wore on and the visitor moved about he was astonished at many things. On all that spacious area not a scrap of waste paper could be found. Not a banana skin appeared. Near the cookhouse of every company encampment stood an iron incinerator, like a round stove without a top. Here the waste was consumed—the perpetual blue smoke rising as incense to the goddess of sanitation. The place was truly, as one writer declared, "an eager, busy, intense world, utterly removed from anything familiar." It was a

world at once beautiful and terrible, a world which took the imagination by the throat and overwhelmed it.

The most wonderful thing about Valcartier Camp in those September days was itself. How had it arisen, in such perfection, in so short a time? Only six weeks since war had been declared. On August 4th, Belgium's martyrdom had well begun. Then Valcartier was an empty and lovely valley. On August 21st, it was a completed camp, ready for a cityful of soldiers. How was the miracle wrought? Two days before the final decision for Peace or War was made in London, the Canadian Minister of Militia and Defence, the Honourable Sam Hughes, visited Valcartier. A portion of the land had been already secured for militia purposes. More was needed, and it was immediately acquired by expropriation. Lieut.-Col. William Price, of Quebec, was given authority to supervise the preparation of the camp. Associated with him were Lieut.-Col. McCarthy, Lieut.-Col. McBain, Lieut.-Col. "Bob" Low, Major Deroche, and other officers of minor rank. Col. Price, a business man accustomed to the largest undertakings, was in association with an untiring band of enthusiasts. Miles of road had to be built. Sandy knolls were cut down, and hollows were filled, the crooked was made straight and the rough places plain. A waterworks system was planned and erected. There was a pumping plant. Two great steel tanks were elevated on stilts fifty feet above the highest point of the camp ground. Miles upon miles of water pipes were laid. Every hundred feet at the rear of the infantry lines there was not only a convenient supply of pure, sterilized running water, but a sprinkler attachment for shower baths. Wooden troughs were provided where the men could wash their clothes. Wooden fences were built around each bath station. Tent-lines were laid out. Tent pegs by the cord were provided. Plank sidewalks suddenly appeared as if by magic—sidewalks miles long. An infinity of modern latrines appeared, all clean, and

of the latest type. Firewood was assembled by hundreds of cords. An electric light plant was constructed with enough wiring and lamps for a small city. All this and more was done in three weeks—the greatest military or civilian accomplishment this continent ever saw.

It need not be imagined that there were no difficulties. Some contractors dawdled, until the work was snatched out of their languid hands and given to others of a more energetic temperament. Personal quarrels arose between the Minister and some of the higher officers. German spies were at work. There is an unprinted and unverified story of one too bold individual who attempted to poison the water supply and disappeared from the face of the earth in consequence. Every obstacle that could be put in the way was found in due course, but indomitable energy and unsleeping determination rolled them all away. On August 24th, just twenty days after war was declared, troops were coming into camp, and Lieut.-Col. Victor Williams was named Camp Commandant, with Lieut.-Col. William Cowan as Chief Transport Officer.

Two days later there were 19,400 men in camp, and an important discovery was made. All the units were coming in overstrength, and a week later more than 30,000 men had answered the call of King and Country. The original order provided for the enlistment and mobilization of only 21,000 men. It was made clear that the plan for twelve infantry battalions was inadequate. The faith of our governors in the patriotism of the country had been too weak. They determined to organize sixteen battalions—thus providing in a measure for the hundreds of supernumerary qualified officers who had come to the camp clamorous for appointments. Even this plan proved insufficient in view of the national ardour. By the beginning of September, the camp population approached 35,000. Of these only fifty-one were on the sick list. Not one was seriously ill. Only three men died in the whole Canadian life of the First Contingent.

One committed suicide while temporarily insane. One died from enteric fever contracted at his home. Another succumbed to a sudden heart weakness. Lieut.-Col. Jones, Director of Medical Services, and his aides inoculated every soldier against typhoid. Lieut.-Col. Nasmith, of Toronto, watched the water supply and trained 150 men of the Army Medical Corps in water analysis. The result was seen in the hospital records. Not one case of typhoid fever or contagious disease appeared.

The first review was held on September 6th in the presence of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, nearly all the Cabinet Ministers, and a number of distinguished visitors. It was a dull day, turning from a drizzle of rain to a downpour. About two-thirds of the men were in line, including some sixty guns. Consul-General Yama of Japan commented on the remarkable bearing of all ranks. "I never expected to see," he said, "such a fine body of men after so short training. I thought the artillery very fine and up to date."

Better weather favoured the second review, held on September 14th. Then 25,000 infantry were in line, with 66 guns, 400 artillery horses, and 1,000 cavalrymen. The march past the saluting base where the Duke and his staff were posted occupied seventy minutes. Another review was held a week later and a cycle corps appeared in the line. Meanwhile among the many distinguished visitors who had come to see the camp was the Duke of Manchester. His comment was: "It is simply wonderful. I have never seen anything before like this camp. I was especially struck with the extraordinary physical fitness of the men and with their cheerful disposition."

By September 21st, the movement towards the transports assembling in Quebec harbour began. It was announced that the contingent would consist of eleven batteries of artillery, 7,500 horses, and 31,200 men, nineteen battalions of infantry, and the Princess Patricia Regiment. The men departed quietly and in sections, most of them marching the sixteen miles to Quebec

during the night and going on board one or other of the thirty assembled ships. On the morning of September 24th, at the Louise Docks, Quebec, the cavalry men were waiting their turn for embarkation. They had come to the city by road, reaching their destination in the early dawn. The rising sun saw them resting. On the stone docks or on the bare ground they lay, their saddles or their kits serving as pillows, their horses grouped and in charge of one or two weary guards. Tanned, leather-hard, the soldiers lay, the hoar-frost glistening on their uniforms. These were men who a few weeks before had been used to every comfort, many of them to every luxury. The boys, once querulous at the lack of a single coverlet, clamorous for an eiderdown comforter in the autumn nights, lay on the rough stones and slept—to wake as giants refreshed. This much in seven weeks Valcartier had done for them.

From the day the early recruits arrived in camp there was apparent among them a tendency to make the best of everything and to regard the shortcomings of Headquarters with lenient humour. Mistakes were bound to happen, not only because the task of outfitting such a large force was new and colossal, but because the original contracts—based on some 21,000 men—had to be increased by one-half. Instead of 63,000 blankets, for example, 100,000 were needed. Boots, underwear, tunics, brass buttons, belts, putties, water bottles, saddles, harness, and a hundred dozen necessities were required for speedy delivery. It was no wonder, perhaps, that when one consignment of boots was opened the men found that all were for the right foot! Shirts were also scarce for the first week, but the commissariat never failed. From the opening of the camp no man went hungry. That was the great fact, which repressed discontent and made the men cheerful in the hard plugging of eternal drill. The cool nights come soon in the Laurentians, but by the time of their arrival in late August the men were prepared and had abundance of

clothing. Much has been said in Parliament and elsewhere criticizing the contractors who served the Department of Militia and Defence. Not enough has been said in praise of the extraordinary amount of good work they did in brief time.

In sunshine Valcartier was a delight. In rain it was otherwise. The soil is sand in combination with red clay. It made a particularly sticky kind of mud while the rain persisted, though it dried rapidly enough after the clouds broke. Several rains were so heavy that the running water invaded the tents and caused much discomfort. Still the men made little complaint. They realized that such inconveniences were but a foretaste of things to come and they accepted them philosophically. Their only serious growl had to do with the frequency of formal reviews—especially when they took place in the rain. On such occasions Sir Sam Hughes lost popularity.

In the morning after the blankets had been rolled and the tents made ready for inspection, came platoon and company drill—sometimes varied by a route march or by target practice. For a time the only rifles were those held at the ranges, which all hands used in turn. After dinner and a period of rest or skylarking the process of making men into soldiers was renewed. After five o'clock the day's work was done.

There was a continuing city at the Y.M.C.A. tent. Here writing paper and magazines were available. Here was a piano, after a sort, and an inducement to sing. When darkness made baseball and other games difficult there was a "spring drive" towards the big marquee and its moving-picture show. Under Captain Best and Captain Pearson sing-songs were arranged. The programme was unique—a mixture of old hymns of the Church and gay songs from the Music Hall—*Lead Kindly Light* and *Tipperary, O God Our Help in Ages Past,* and *Who Were You With Last Night?* The scene was

strange, almost unreal. Some of the songs most beloved were terribly prophetic.

"And I and my true love will never meet again
On the bonnie, bonnie banks o' Loch Lomond."

God knows how true it was, for these were to be the giants of Langemarck and St. Julien. Down by the river's rim, among the dark shrubbery the fireflies flared and went out. There and everywhere the incandescent lights struggled ineffectually to pierce the nightly gloom. Now while a young officer from the West stood by his horse, the bridle rein over his arm, saying good-bye to a gallant little woman—who smiled cheerily in his face—one could hear the men singing

"And for bonnie Annie Laurie
I'd lay me down and dee."

These were serious times in our first and greatest Canadian camp.

Surprisingly few of the men were ever out of hand. The mere adventurers had been tamed by the stories from Belgium. The old soldiers knew that they were bound to a place where the pains of hell gat hold upon men. There was an extraordinary atmosphere in the camp. A mixture of cheerfulness and gravity formed it, and no man who had opportunity to see and feel that atmosphere could ever forget it. There was the Canadian spirit in concrete demonstration, and the cavalry band playing *The Red White and Blue* on the far knoll gave that spirit melodious and harmonious voice.

Yet some discontent was found in camp. Officers who could not get appointments soon fell foul of the Minister of Militia. But the saw-edged tongue of that soldier-statesman knew no friend. When four hundred lieutenants and captains and even majors of militia were applying for twelve vacant subaltern positions three hundred and eighty-eight were sure to have a grievance and express it vigorously. Politicians who "dropped in" to speak a word in favour of some candidate for a commission were not kindly received. It

cannot be doubted that the unrest, the envy, the anger, and at times even the fury of supernumerary officers of all grades were due largely to the indefensible bluntness of the man whose greatness as an organizer and a driving force was marred by an overbearing temper. He had much, it is true, to try his temper. One instance will suffice; on January 30th, 1917, he spoke as follows in the House of Commons:

"One day I drove fifteen miles through the Valcartier camp, and I found twenty-one officers on duty out of some 1,500. Having made enquiries, I found that the fishing was good up in the mountains, and that the company was very genial at the summer hotels. In other words, the whole camp had degenerated early in the game into a huge picnic party. I called a meeting of some fifteen or sixteen hundred officers the next day, and told them in plain Anglo-Saxon language what this war meant. I told them that they were not there for picnic purposes, and that if I found them absent from the camp or from duty I would take it as an intimation that they wanted to return to their homes. I pointed out the seriousness of the war, and the need of the officers making themselves efficient in their duties. All but about fifteen or twenty rolled up their sleeves, and the splendid record of the Canadian officers has been the result. Many of them told me that that occasion was the first time that they took the matter seriously. I may say incidentally that a few of them did get return tickets to their homes, the result being a very beneficial effect upon the service."

Perpetually it was said that Sir Sam had put his "pets" in charge of the various battalions. Three of these "pets" leaving Canada as lieutenant-colonels in 1914, by 1917 were lieutenant-generals. All three have been knighted. The selections thus made for the high commands of the First Contingent were justified in the flame of battle. A newspaper writer studying Valcartier Camp in 1914 said this: "A singular thing

is that the camp is damned cheerfully by men five hundred miles away from it, and praised highly by men on the ground! The tin-horn Napoleons say that Hughes is a fool. The soldiers say that he is a wonder." Perhaps the backward glance of History will see this remarkable figure standing on a middle ground, in lonely and pathetic splendour. One of the "pets" was Lieut.-Col. Hay, a gallant officer, now at rest in Picardy! He said that the troops when they arrived in the camp were mere levies. The hardest task was to deal with men who thought they were competent soldiers when they were raw past all imagining. Yet Col. Hay and others like him laboured incessantly, drilling by day, lecturing by night, and impressing the men with the serious, even desperate nature of the task which faced them. To such men the debt Canada owes can never be paid.

It must be remembered that if the general temper of the Camp was serious, there were contemporary events tending to make it so. On September 5th, 1914, began the Battle of the Marne; on the 7th Maubeuge was taken; on the 20th Rheims was being bombarded; on the 22nd, two days before the transports were expected to sail from Quebec the armoured cruisers *Cressy*, *Hogue*, and *Aboukir* were sunk by German torpedoes and the capture of Antwerp was expected at any moment. No wonder His Excellency the Governor-General said: "His Royal Highness leaves the camp with the knowledge that a fine spirit pervades these patriotic Canadians who have come forward so splendidly at this critical time."

Before the first contingent was ready to sail the country perceived that it would be only the vanguard of the force we would eventually send to the battle line. Enlistment was active in all parts of the country and winter was close at hand. Seeing that bad weather must soon render camp-life in the open impossible, the Department of Militia and Defence resolved to utilize the armouries in the various District Centres for recruiting

Photo: Underwood & Underwood

THE RT. HON. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE AND MAJOR-GENERAL SIR SAM HUGHES INSPECTING A CANADIAN DIVISION AT BRAMSHOTT, ENGLAND

purposes, while at Toronto winter-quarters of exceptional convenience were found in the capacious Exhibition Buildings—permanent structures of brick, steel, and concrete which had many advantages. Here during the cold weather of 1914-15 some 4,500 men were concentrated under the command of Major-General Lessard. The outdoor drill and route marching in the frosty days gave the men a good hardening, and by spring several battalions were beginning to have the swing of veterans. A curious effect of this outdoor life was found on occasions when entertainment of any kind was provided for the men in the theatres or music halls of the city. After half an hour or so in the superheated air required for an ordinary civilian audience, the soldiers would begin to cough. The unfamiliar temperature had an uncommonly irritating effect upon the throat. Frosty air was not troublesome.

Aside from the ordinary drill routine a special lecture course was provided. Some of the topics considered were Administration, Operations by Night, Defence and Rear-guards, Engineering Service on the Field, Patrols and Patrolling, Tactics, Transportation, Topography and Map Reading, Military Law and Military History, Camps and Sanitation. As in the summer camp the arrangements at Exhibition Park for preventive sanitation were most satisfactory. From November 24th, 1914, to February 1st, 1915, there had been no deaths, though several cases of pneumonia developed. One death on February 6th from spinal meningitis stirred the medical officers to renewed exertions and an epidemic which threatened was happily averted. On February 8th and March 20th, route marches through the city streets were witnessed by many thousands of interested but silent and serious citizens.

Meanwhile authorization had been given for the enlistment of 50,000 additional men, and it was clear to the Government that all the more convenient Militia properties would be required. Instead of concentrating

all men at one large camp and separating them unnecessarily from easy communication with their friends, the Government instructed the Engineers to prepare a number of smaller camps, and by February, 1916, there were no fewer than sixteen in the Dominion. Valcartier and Three Rivers served for the recruits secured in Quebec. The Artillery Camp at Petawawa, Ontario, which is ideal for gunnery practice, though somewhat isolated, was re-opened. Barriefield Camp, Kingston; Carling's Heights, London; Rockcliffe Camp, Ottawa; Gresty Park Camp, Port Arthur; Windsor Camp, and the historic field at Niagara-on-the-Lake were soon well occupied by marching men. Aldershot and Digby Camps, Nova Scotia, and Sussex and St. Andrews Camps, New Brunswick, served the Maritime Provinces. Sarcee, near Calgary and a finely situated camp at Vernon, British Columbia, were for the men of the Mountain territory, while Sidney Camp accommodated the recruits from Vancouver Island. At all these the average population during the summer of 1915 did not exceed 4,500 men. But Camp Hughes near Brandon, Manitoba, had more than twice as many. This famous property originally acquired by the Militia Department in 1903 (then named Camp Sewell) was "revised and enlarged" for its new inhabitants. Probably there were good and sufficient reasons for its re-naming. Whether or not, the christening took place. The camp, on a sandy treeless plain, received the full sweep of the prairie blasts. A young typhoon roaming through the tents one evening scattered to the four quarters of the earth a thousand pay cheques just made out for distribution to an infantry battalion. At the same time the eyes of the soldiers were filled with sand. Fortunately none of the "paper" was negotiable. Everywhere, in all camps, the spirit of the men was high and eager; the routine of drill, Swedish exercises, route marches, and shooting was the same; the baseball, football, and boxing were the same; the "sing-songs" and the Y.M.C.A.

service filled the restful evenings, and all ranks looked forward with enthusiasm to the day of departure for the serious business of soldiering.

Through all the late summer of 1915 the lack of elbow room for the men in training was apparent, particularly at Niagara and at London. Enlistments were heavy in Western Ontario and it became clear that some preparation must be made to accommodate the swelling army. For the winter the Exhibition Camp at Toronto was used again, nearly ten thousand troops finding shelter; but in addition to this, company training and drill were conducted in a hundred small towns and cities. Perhaps a community of two thousand people would have a captain or lieutenant with fifty men mastering the exercise in the town hall, keeping the khaki before the eyes of the civilian lads, rousing the patriotic interest of the women, and finding comfortable billets in generous homes.

As spring approached, the Government announced the acquisition of a large tract of country a short distance west of Barrie, Ontario. "The sand hills" had at least one merit, that of being situated at an elevation of approximately 150 feet above Lake Huron. The new training ground, called Camp Borden, was prepared for habitation by Lieut.-Col. Low and others who had had a hand in the performance of the miracle of Valcartier. Here also the work was done with haste and yet with efficiency. Water supply, lighting plant, sanitary arrangements were soon available, and the camp was opened on June 15th; on July 11th about 30,000 troops were established there. The place had some serious natural disadvantages. Forest fires of past years had left a layer of black ash upon the sandy and barren soil. When the wind blew, the air was full of a vile mixture that made the men uncomfortable. Even on a still day a marching column raised such a dust that on the halt the soldiers' faces were as black as a moulder's. As the summer wore on the dry heat of August aggravated

the dust nuisance. Palliative methods of various kinds were adopted, not with any shining success, and more than once grumbling flamed suddenly into the beginning of disorder. On a rainy day, or after a heavy rain, the camp was easily endurable, for there was no mud. If it had not been for the dust Borden would have been the finest camp in Canada. Special work on it during the autumn and a judicious spring sowing of grass made it more satisfactory for the 1917 season. Unfortunately by this year the flood of recruits had become a mere rivulet, and as the trained battalions went overseas few infantry units were left for accommodation at Camp Borden.

The awakening of interest in air service gave opportunity to use a portion of the camp as an ærodrome. Here the chief training centre for the Royal Flying Corps was established, and on July 1st a squadron of ten machines flew to Toronto and back again without landing—a total distance of about 120 miles, as the 'plane flies. Subsidiary to Borden but all important in their way were flying grounds at Leaside, at York Mills and at Long Branch—all in the suburbs of Toronto. Other camps were established at Mohawk near Deseronto, Ontario, and at Lulu Island in British Columbia.

Great and marvellous was the task of raising a citizen army. Heavy was the burden upon the Department of Militia and Defence, suddenly converted into the War Office of a First Class Power. Statistics are not always illuminating, but every writer must resort to them sometimes. Therefore let us quote triumphantly the record of the enlargement of the Ordnance Branch—one small section of this new War Office—the section which saw to the furnishing and equipment of the men. Three months before the war broke out its establishment consisted of 29 officers and 256 men of other ranks. On April 1st, 1917, it had grown to 36 officers and 497 men—533 against 285. In the summer of 1917, when most of the oversea troops had left the country and the

conscription controversy was raging, the personnel dropped to 478.

In Canada a hundred years of peace had practically extinguished public interest in military affairs. Even in the Militia there were many officers—at least until 1899—who looked upon the annual two weeks outing at Camp and the Regimental Ball as collateral in importance, men who never made a serious study of soldiering save in the colloquial sense of the word. The South African War wrought a change, though not a complete one. It created a body of officers and men of non-commissioned rank who devoted themselves with ardour to self-improvement in military science. The city regiments grew in smartness and efficiency owing to the development of a proper pride. These hailed with satisfaction the appointment in 1911 of a practical soldier as Minister of Militia and Defence. Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir Sam Hughes has his limitations, but few will deny that he is a competent officer, fervently interested in his profession. To the hardworking soldiers of the Militia of 1911 he brought encouragement and stimulated them to ardent effort. He even chose a group of them to accompany him to the British manœuvres in 1912 and took them over some of the fields of France rendered famous in the war of 1870.

When war was declared we had only the skeleton of an army but a completely mobilized enthusiasm. The men who had studied war knew what a camp should be. They knew the trend of modern military training. To them the Minister turned, and with his driving force set them energetically at work. Valcartier and Hughes, Niagara and Borden, Sarcee and Sussex were one result. The secondary but greater result is to be traced in the salient of Ypres.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CANADIAN RAILWAYS AND THE WAR

DURING the decade preceding the outbreak of the Great World War there had been a tremendous speeding up of railway-building in Canada. Two new transcontinental lines had practically been completed and much double-tracking had been done along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In addition to this numerous branch roads had been constructed. On June 30th, 1914, the total operated mileage in the Dominion was 30,795 miles. In 1914 alone, the Canadian Pacific Railway built 620 miles of new track, the Canadian Northern 515, and the Grand Trunk 450. There was a general feeling that railway construction had been overdone and that years would pass before some of the lines would be able to pay running expenses. Some held that, largely due to excessive railway-building, Canada was in for a period of depression and that harder times than those experienced after the completion of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway were about to eventuate. Be that as it may, Canadian Railways have proved an inestimable boon since the outbreak of war.

For at least twenty years before the declaration of war Germany and Austria, particularly the former, had been spending enormous sums on railways, many of which were purely for strategic purposes. To the borders of Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Russia, Roumania, Serbia, and Italy lines had been run that were of little commercial value and were evidently intended for the free movement of troops and supplies in time of war. Canada in her railway-building had no thought of war, but her railways were to prove to be her greatest war asset; without them she would have played but a minor part in the struggle. The Canadian railways from the

beginning of the war were, indeed, the Empire's most important strategic lines. Over them reservists were rushed to the Allies. When Valcartier was chosen as the military camp for assembling the First Contingent, from the Pacific Coast, from the Peace River District, from the region around Hudson Bay, from the remotest corners of the Maritime Provinces, troops were rushed to the training centre. When the necessary camp constructors and other workers are taken into consideration, it is well within the mark to say that in and about Valcartier, by the time the First Contingent had concentrated there, a population of over fifty thousand adult males had assembled—equal to the entire population of the city of London, Ontario. And this work was done within a month. Not only were the men transported, but from every military depot in Canada supplies and equipment were brought forward. And this large cityful of men had to be fed—no small task; but the railways never failed. Military needs had the right of way; and north and south, east and west, trains continuously thundered towards Valcartier.

There was another way in which the Canadian railways were to prove of immense strategic value in the war. Over them were to be brought Imperial troops from the Far East and Chinese labourers for work behind the lines on the various fronts. They served, too, as a means to get war supplies to Russia. They enabled Canada to vastly increase the man-power of the Allies; but they did more, they were of immense importance in feeding the armies in the field. In the last four months of 1915 the shipment of grain over Canadian lines totalled 152,000,000 bushels. During the year 1915 that much-criticized line, the Canadian Northern, carried 741,042,000 pounds of flour and 58,875,520 bushels of grain. Moreover, the railway companies, employing tens of thousands of workmen, were in a direct way a source of strength to the Empire's armies. By the end of 1915 employés of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the number of 3,982 had

enlisted, and the other lines had done proportionately as well. And these men were not only fine fighting material, but as mechanicians and railway-builders were to do magnificent work on the Empire's battlefields.

But the main work of the railways, from a military point of view, from the beginning of the war, was the transportation of troops. Fortunately the Department of Militia and Defence had an organization that could cope with the unusual situation. The Transportation Staff had had little experience in handling large bodies of troops, the greatest being the carrying of the troops to Quebec at the time of the Champlain Tercentenary. But under "the excellent organizing and driving power" of Lieutenant-General Sir Sam Hughes the work was done superbly. Within a week after the formal declaration of war by Great Britain nearly 35,000 men had enlisted in Canada, and within a month over 30,000 were in the tented city of Valcartier. From cities, towns, and villages they had come; battalions from the cities, drafts of a hundred or so from the towns, and drafts of fifty or less from the villages. And as much official attention was required for a draft of fifty as for the movement of a regiment. One experienced embarkation officer remarked: "I would rather entrain a battalion than six drafts of a hundred." As the war lengthened the railway situation was to become critical on account of lack of rolling stock, but the Militia Department never failed; troops, guns, horses, and supplies streamed to the seaports with the same promptness that marked the early days of the Valcartier concentration. But the military authorities could not have done this without the assistance of the railway staffs. Naturally the work of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the greatest organization of its kind in the world, stands out prominently, and an account of it will serve to show what in a lesser degree was done by all the other lines.

When war was declared the British War Office asked the Canadian Government to supervise the purchase and

transport of commissariat supplies from the Dominion for the Expeditionary Forces in France. The Hon. Robert Rogers, then Minister of Public Works, was chosen for this difficult and responsible task. A keen business man, he realized that, for the successful carrying out of his duties, the first essential was the assistance of practical transportation officials. His first step was to consult with leading railway men, among whom was Sir Thomas (afterwards Lord) Shaughnessy, president of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Sir Thomas, with characteristic generosity, placed at the disposal of the Government, without cost, the service of Mr. A. H. Harris, special traffic representative of the C.P.R., with some twenty of the company's staff. On December 24th, the *Canadian Gazette*, published in London, England, in commenting on this matter, remarked:

"How well Mr. Harris and his staff have accomplished the work is illustrated by the speed with which the supplies were shipped to France; indeed, so rapidly were these forwarded that the British authorities found it necessary to cable to Canada to 'go slow,' as the goods were arriving faster than they could be properly handled. Mr. Harris and his assistants have established a record in transportation of this nature. From September 1st to the closing of navigation on the St. Lawrence, flour, War Office supplies, and French army blankets to the total amount of 120,000 tons were shipped. Since the advent of ice on the St. Lawrence the War Office supplies have been shipped and are continuing to be forwarded via the ports of the Maritime Provinces under the supervision of Mr. Harris.

"Moreover, through the expert knowledge of the company's officials, vessels were chartered on a minimum charter rate; thus an average freight of 25 cents per 100 lbs. and on hay of $7.50 per gross ton were maintained during the three months' period. Owing to the scarcity of tonnage, Atlantic freight rates have risen rapidly since September, but in the case of five vessels

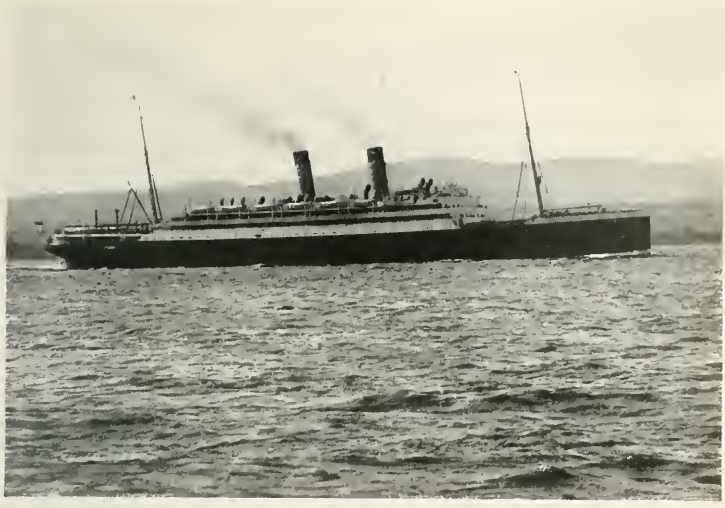
cleared within ten days for a French port from Montreal recently, the charter parties averaged only 28 cents per 100 lbs. and eight dollars on hay, a saving of close on fifty per cent. on current commercial rates.

"The Canadian Pacific Railway Company made no charge for the use of their docks by the chartered vessels, and also warehoused all the goods free; the Allan Line also placed portions of their sheds at the free disposal of the Government. Over 600,000 sacks have been stored in and passed through the C.P.R. Sheds, and, in addition, vast quantities of sacked oats were piled in the upper portion of the company's dock warehouse and subsequently loaded into chartered vessels consigned to French ports of call.

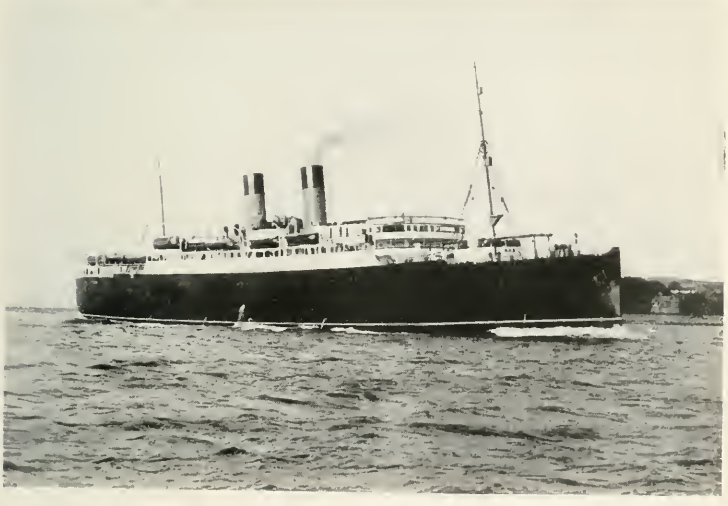
"The company extended the same facilities to the Governments of Ontario, Manitoba, and Alberta in connection with the gifts of these provinces to the Motherland."

The full significance of what the railways were to Canada in the supreme crisis of her history will not be fully realized until the war is over and there has been a national stock-taking. They have been as important in the conduct of the war as the armies sent overseas. Indeed without them the force that Canada would have been able to send to the Front would have been negligible. Corporations are popularly considered without heart or conscience, but in the fight for democracy against militarism, the battle for human liberty against tyranny, the railway companies of Canada, one and all, have proved themselves thoroughly unselfish, supremely self-sacrificing. In a recent article Mr. C. H. Gibbons has powerfully summed up the activities of the C.P.R. in the Great World War. We cannot do better than quote a portion of his summary:

"To the organization and business administration of the War Department the company has loaned its trained executives and its continentally famous experts in the



THE " EMPRESS OF BRITAIN "



THE " MISSANABIE "

CANADIAN TRANSPORT SHIPS

By courtesy of the Canadian Pacific Railway

specialty fields of railway construction, repair, maintenance, operation and administration—its buyers and transportation men—its engineers and designers—its master mechanics, bridge builders and wrecking crews.

"To the Transport Service it has virtually handed over the largest and most efficiently organized railway unit in the world, plus a fleet of thirty-seven first-class ocean steamships of 329,960 tons in the aggregate, serving as auxiliary cruisers, transports, patrols, or special freighters, their officers and crews, to a man, voluntarily going with them.

"To the man-power of the army, up to the end of last year [1917] the company's services had contributed from 7,200 to 7,500 volunteers for the firing line, of whom (up to December 1st, 1917) no fewer than 1,695 have been casualties, 541 having given the supreme proof of their worthy citizenship.

"To the financing of the campaign of free democracy against autocracy and rampant militarism, in loans and guarantees to the Allied Nations, it has given upwards of $80,000,000, the largest individual contribution made by any private interest or industrial enterprise in the British Empire or any of the Allied countries.

"To the provisioning and munitioning of the armies of freedom it has given its great shops, expeditiously transformed into manufacturing plants, hydraulic hay-pressing bases, etc., while leading the way also in conservation both of man-power and of exportable food-stuffs.

"To the departments responsible for the scientific care of the fit soldier and that of his sick or wounded invalided brother, in transit, it has given the benefit of specialized knowledge and instantly available constructive resources, in its commissary cars, its troop trains, and its hospital cars—built, equipped, officered, and manned in record time."

The company made wise provision for the future of the men fighting the battles of the Empire. On a vast

scale it grappled with the problem of the returned soldier and "has contributed a well-thought-out plan providing for the successful utilization of ten thousand freely-granted farms of 160 acres each, in touch with the world, these to be grouped in communities so that the returned soldiers who accept these farms may begin the developments of their own homesteads under expert supervision, making for a maximum of success in results. This plan has meant expenditures of $3,500,000 more Canadian Pacific Railway money, in the erection of a thousand comfortable dwellings, a thousand barns, thirteen hundred miles of fencing, the digging or boring of a thousand wells, the preparation for the plough of fifty thousand acres of Canadian soil, and the utilization of twenty million feet of Canadian lumber."

From the commencement of the war all the other Canadian railway companies, according to their resources, did equally as well as the C.P.R. in the free movement of troops to camps and seaports, the carrying of war supplies to the transports, and of steel and other material necessary in the manufacturing of munitions to the hundreds of plants engaged in this work. When the cry came from France for rails and engines for strategic lines leading to the Front, the railways lent willing aid, and hundreds of miles of track were torn up and sent overseas, while numerous engines and other rolling stock left their peaceful lines in Canada for the shell-shattered European battlefields. One engine that had been engaged in the Moose Jaw district, while manned by a Canadian crew was to be put of action near Amiens in France, but it went "through the casualty clearing shop for engines and is [July 17th, 1918] running steadily."

Roland Hill, in one of his despatches from the Front, writes thus of a railway incident in France:

"Another Canadian engine, with empty trucks, found itself in the maelstrom near Albert, took its chance of having the line behind it broken, and then came vic-

toriously through with two derelict casualty clearing stations, bag, baggage, nurses, and all."

Before 1914 Canada had been living in a fool's paradise, believing herself free from the threat of war. There had been insignificant preparedness, and when the storm broke the whole art of modern warfare had to be learned by our military authorities. The haste of preparation, the experiments in equipping and training troops, cost unnecessary millions. In only one respect was Canada prepared for war—in her magnificent railway systems. Hundreds of millions had been expended by the country in building up these systems; but it was money well spent. Apart altogether from the work done by the railways in opening up the remote regions of the Dominion to settlers and in giving an opportunity for the development of her vast resources, the work done by the railway companies in helping win the war is ample repayment for every dollar spent by the Dominion in railway construction.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CANADIAN ARMADA

IT was no light task to move an army of 33,000 men from Valcartier Camp to Quebec, where the ships that were to transport it overseas had assembled. But the work was done magnificently during the last week in September, 1914. While the movement of troops and supplies was taking place severe rainstorms somewhat hampered the operations. The wagons and guns were brought to the point of embarkation over the muddy roads, but the men for the most part made the journey by train. As the troops arrived they could see, from points of vantage on the heights of Quebec, at the docks and in the broad river, the greatest fleet that ever assembled in the St. Lawrence.

In the year 1629, when Champlain was struggling at Quebec to build up a New France in America, three English vessels under command of the Kirkes arrived before the rocky fortress. To a curt demand to surrender Champlain was forced by circumstances to yield, and for three years the English flag was to wave over Quebec. In 1690, in the days of Frontenac, a badly-manned and ill-equipped fleet of thirty-odd vessels under Sir William Phips made a futile attempt to capture the ancient capital of Canada. In 1759 a powerful British fleet bore Wolfe and his army to its walls, with the result that French rule came to an end in North America. The whole early history of Quebec is a history of the conflicts between the French and English. But the fleet now assembled in the waters lapping the shores of Cape Diamond was of vastly greater tonnage than the fleets that brought Phips and Wolfe to the St. Lawrence. It was composed not of warships but of swift commodious ocean-liners and roomy cargo-boats. It was there not to

attack but to carry to a distant scene of conflict an army larger than the combined forces commanded by Wolfe and Montcalm in the great struggle that ended French rule in Canada. On the vessels now assembled in the waters about Quebec, a sturdy army composed of both British and French volunteers were to be transported to England to undergo training that was to fit them to aid in saving France, the ancient foe of England, from the rapacious grasp of Germany, England's ally of Waterloo days.

As the troops arrived from Valcartier they were hurried with all possible speed on board the transports, and as each was loaded it pulled out into the stream to await orders to proceed to the place of rendezvous, Gaspé Bay. The transporting of troops overseas was a new business for the Department of Militia and Defence, and the loading of the vessels was inefficiently performed. Someone blundered badly. At the last moment a radical change was made in the control of the work; carefully laid plans were cast aside, and the embarkation of troops and the loading of supplies were done in a most haphazard manner. It took a full month after the arrival of the Contingent in England to straighten out the tangles occasioned by ignorant and inexperienced officials at Quebec. In the case of the 15th Battalion (48th Highlanders), to give only one instance, and it was not singular: "The horses were put on board one ship, the harness on another, the wagons on another, the wheels on another, etc. It took weeks to sort everything out, and all the work done at Valcartier had been wasted."[1]

The Duke of Connaught, during his whole term of office as Governor-General of Canada, took a deep personal interest in the country's affairs. The sending of a strong volunteer army to help the sorely-pressed forces of Great Britain was the crowning act in the history of the Dominion. To mark the occasion he sent

[1]Currie, Col. J. A.: *The Red Watch*, p. 65.

a message to be read to the men on each vessel as they were about to sail. The following is the message:

"On the eve of your departure from Canada, I wish to congratulate you on having the privilege of taking part, with the other forces of the Crown, in fighting for the the honour of the King and Empire. You have nobly responded to the call of duty, and Canada will know how to appreciate the patriotic spirit that animates you. I have complete confidence that you will do your duty, and that Canada will have every reason to be proud of you. You leave these shores with the knowledge that all Canadian hearts beat with you, and that our prayers and best wishes will ever attend you. May God bless you and bring you back victorious."

When sailing orders were issued, the transports steamed slowly down the St. Lawrence. Picturesque villages, each clustered about its little church; long narrow farms, now browned by the autumn frosts; whitewashed cottages, in which dwelt a peasant people, who for over a century had lived remote from the thoughts of war and bloodshed,—were continually in view on either side of the river during the day-light hours. To many on board the vessels the St. Lawrence was a revelation; its deep gorges, its stretches of muddy flats being vastly different from the scenery of Ontario and the Prairie Provinces, whence the greater portion of the Contingent had come. Gradually the vessels reached Gaspé Bay, where a convoy of British warships awaited them.

By the 3rd of October the whole fleet of transports had assembled and was ready to begin the voyage across the Atlantic. This Canadian Armada was composed of the following vessels: *Adania, Athenia, Alaunia, Arcadian, Bermudian, Cassandra, Caribbean, Corinthian, Franconia, Grampian, Ivernia, Lapland, Laurentic, Lakonia, Manitou, Monmouth, Montreal, Montezuma, Megantic, Scotian, Sicilian, Scandinavian, Saxonia, Royal George, Royal Edward, Tyrolia, Tunisian, Ruthenia, Virginia, Zealand.* As the fleet steamed out into the

THE "ROYAL GEORGE"
The ship that carried the Princess Patricia's to England

THE "ROYAL EDWARD"
First British transport sunk by a submarine: torpedoed in the Aegean, with 1600 on board

SHIPS OF THE CANADIAN ARMADA

By courtesy of the Canadian Northern Railway

Gulf of St. Lawrence it was to be joined by the sealing-ship *Florizel* with the Newfoundland Regiment on board.

In 1588, twenty years before the founding of Quebec by Champlain and three hundred and twenty-six years before the outbreak of the Great World War, King Philip II of Spain had sent "The Invincible Armada," under the Duke of Medina Sidonia, to humiliate England and bring her under the Spanish yoke. The Armada carried 28,000 men. Now from a region that in the days of King Philip was but vaguely known, from a country where at that time there was not a single white inhabitant, a new armada was about to set forth, an armada vastly stronger than Spain's one hundred and thirty ships and, counting the army being transported and the crews of the transports and accompanying warships, carrying a force nearly twice the size of the Spanish force. This armada, too, was to sail for England, but on a very different mission. The Spaniard's purpose was to devastate English homes; the purpose of the army borne by the Canadian fleet was to help guard England against a brutal foe, more brutal than the Spaniard had proved in the 16th Century. That was to be its ultimate work; the heart-desire of the Germans was to crush Great Britain, to make the Island Empire subservient to the Hohenzollern will. The battles in Belgium, France, and Russia were mere preliminaries to the greater enterprise—the destruction of the British fleet and the looting of British cities. And the men on this fleet, who in the Ypres salient were to bar the way to Calais and at the Somme and Vimy to help press back the German forces from Paris, nobly sacrificed themselves to save the Motherland. Paris once captured, the way won to the Channel ports, Great Britain would have had a bitter struggle to save her fair fields and rich cities from the looters of Antwerp and Brussels, the destroyers of Ypres and Rheims.

Gaspé Bay, apart from its natural advantages, was a suitable place for the assembling of the Canadian Armada. It was historic ground. Here the first naval battle

fought in North America had taken place. In the spring of 1628 a fleet of eighteen ships under command of Claude de Roquement had sailed from Dieppe, France, for Quebec, bringing building material, implements, guns, and ammunition. The One Hundred Associates, a company having a monopoly of Canadian trade, had resolved to strengthen the little colony struggling for its very existence on the banks of the St. Lawrence. The fleet reached Gaspé Bay safely, but while it lay there in fancied security three British ships under the command of Captain David Kirke swept down upon it. The British ships were vastly superior in size and armament to any in the French fleet. A short sharp battle took place, ending in the capture or destruction of all of de Roquemont's vessels. In this bay French power in America had sustained a check by the British; from this bay a British fleet was now about to sail to help save the existence of France.

On the morning of the 3rd of October the last of the transports reached Gaspé Bay. As the fleet waited for orders to sail it received a visit from the Hon, Sam Hughes, who had been mainly responsible for the rapid and efficient manner in which the Canadian Expeditionary Force came into being. When all was ready, anchors were weighed and the vessels steamed slowly out of the harbour. As they reached the open sea, they were formed into three columns and taken in charge by four British warships. The left column was headed by H.M.S. *Eclipse*, the centre by H.M.S. *Charybdis*, the right by H.M.S. *Diana*, while H.M.S. *Talbot* acted as a rearguard. The *Charybdis* flew the flag of Rear-Admiral Rosslyn E. Wemyss, C.M.G., D.S.O. (afterwards Vice-Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss, First Sea Lord of the British Admiralty), who was in charge of the convoy. The fleet, as it steamed towards the Atlantic that bright summer afternoon in the early autumn, presented the most imposing sight ever seen in British North America. It sailed at a moderate rate of speed—only ten knots an

hour,—for, while there were vessels in the fleet capable of doing over twenty knots, the pace had to be regulated by the capacity of the slowest ships.

The better-informed members of the Contingent looked askance at the accompanying warships. All were slow, obsolete vessels. The *Diana*, *Eclipse*, and *Talbot* were cruisers of the *Talbot* Class, which had been built in 1897-98 and had a speed of less than twenty knots. The *Charybdis* of the *Astræa* Class had been completed in 1895, and was no faster than the others. The German warships *Karlsruhe* and *Dresden* were known to be at large in the Atlantic. The former was one of the latest fast light cruisers, capable of making at least twenty-eight knots; the latter was a protected cruiser, about six years old, with a speed of 24½ knots. Either of these vessels would have been more than a match for the warships convoying the Canadian Armada. But the vessels under Admiral Wemyss were merely shepherding the Canadian fleet. Great Britain had her real dogs-of-war scattered over the Atlantic seeing to it that no dangerous enemy vessel approached within striking range of the transports. On the second day after leaving Gaspé Bay a cloud of smoke was seen on the horizon, and slowly a great grey battleship of the pre-dreadnought type hove in sight and took up a position on the flank of the fleet. It was the *Glory* of the *Canopus* Class, a more heavily armed and better-protected ship than any of the other vessels of the convoy. But she was even slower than any of them, having a speed of only eighteen knots; evidently the Admiralty had little fear of German attack on the American side of the Atlantic.

The fleet as it passed into the Gulf of St. Lawrence took the southern passage between Newfoundland and Cape Breton. On the 5th a steamship appeared on the left of the line and the *Eclipse* turned aside to examine her. It was the *Bruce*, plying between Newfoundland and Cape Breton. The news of the sailing of the Contingent had been kept a profound secret, but, from the

direction the ships were heading, the captain of the *Bruce* could hardly have supposed that they carried an invading army. However he ran for it, pursued by the *Eclipse*, but he soon saw that he was being chased by a British warship and disclosed the identity of his vessel. The *Bruce* then proceeded on her way to spread the tidings of this wonderful fleet among the people of Cape Breton.

Meanwhile the officers were kept busy. From the time of embarkation they had been fully occupied getting familiar with their unaccustomed surroundings and arranging for the training of their men while at sea. Lifeboat drill had to be practised, physical drill kept up, and lectures in map-reading, topography, etc., given to both officers and men. Morning and afternoon the soldiers had a twenty-minutes' run round the deck and then an hour of physical drill. As far as possible military drill was carried on, but the cramped, crowded quarters of a transport naturally did not lend themselves to instruction in manœuvres. During the voyage excellent progress was made in signalling. The men in their spare hours amused themselves with dance and song, boxing and wrestling, playing shuffle-board or ring-toss or any other game suitable to the deck of a ship. Fortunately the weather continued fine; it was constantly threatening, but the fleet kept ahead of the storm and was almost in sight of England before it experienced anything like heavy weather.

The tediousness of the voyage was relieved by few incidents worthy of note. At the beginning of their journey the soldiers crowded the rigging to get a better view of passing ships or points of interest on land, but on the second day out one of them fell overboard and was rescued only after spending fifteen minutes in the chill waters of the Gulf. As a result of this misadventure, Admiral Wemyss issued orders that this rigging-climbing must stop. Two days later, on the 7th, a shadow fell over the fleet. A British veteran, returning to England

to join his regiment, died and was buried at sea. The flag, half-masted on his ship, the melancholy tolling of the bell during the funeral cermony caused the light-hearted volunteers on board the fleet to have serious thoughts regarding the great adventure on which they had embarked. An occasional whale, spouting in the distance; the gambols of porpoises, as they raced by the sides of the transports; a distant sail, or a smudge of smoke on the far horizon,—all proved of interest. On one occasion a strange vessel was sighted; it might be an enemy ship, and the *Charybdis* went in pursuit. But the captain, whether enemy or friend, showed no inclination to be interviewed by the commander of one of His Majesty's warships and succeeded in slipping away. On another occasion a six-masted schooner got into the line, a serious breach of naval etiquette, as serious as for a civilian to attempt to pass through a regiment on the march. The vessel was promptly taken in charge by the *Eclipse* and sent about her business.

By the 10th the fleet was getting into what might be considered the danger zone. The slow-moving warships that had so far accompanied it would be of doubtful service against a vigorous enemy attack. But preparations had been made to safeguard the Canadians. On this day the famous *Princess Royal*, a battle cruiser of 27,000 tons displacement, manned by nearly 1,000 men, and with a speed of 28½ knots, joined the convoy. This vessel, with her eight 13.5 guns and sixteen 4-in. quick-firers, was capable of taking care of any warships, torpedo-boats, or submarines the Germans had at large. However, until within the immediate waters surrounding the British Isles there was little to be feared. The Germans had entered the war depending for success at sea mainly on their submarines, but at this early stage in the struggle undersea boats capable of a wide range of operations had not been built. On the day following the appearance of the *Princess Royal* the stately old pre-dreadnought *Majestic* took a position at the head

of the line. Now, too, appeared swift torpedo-boat destroyers; the Admiralty was taking no chances. The fleet which left Gaspé Bay apparently under the convoy of four weak warships was in reality shepherded across the Atlantic by five cruisers and four battleships.

On the 11th, the *Aluania* steamed out of the line and speeded away with the *Charybdis*. A wireless message telling that Antwerp had fallen had just been received. The men of the Contingent had so little realization of the magnitude of the task the Empire had before it, or of the gigantic character and efficiency of the war-machine the Allies were fighting that it was rumoured throughout the fleet that the departure of the Admiral had to do with the sending of the Canadians to recover Antwerp.[1]

On the 12th Lizard Point was sighted, and early on the 14th the fleet was off Eddystone Lighthouse. Here the Channel pilots were taken on board. It was now learned that the destination of the transports had been changed. Southampton had been the port originally selected, but the submarine menace caused the Admiralty to alter this to Plymouth. Toward evening on the 14th the fleet began to enter this historic harbour—a place made illustrious by memories of such men as Hawkins, Raleigh, and Drake. Cautiously the vessels were piloted through mine-fields, past warships, torpedo-boats, destroyers, submarines, and seemingly numberless transports. Plymouth was a centre of war work, and the arsenal, the shipyards, the factories, the docks were all astir with activities intended to win the war, while on every vacant stretch of land men were drilling.

The arrival of the Canadians was unheralded; but news such as this quickly spreads, and soon the shores of the harbour were lined with an enthusiastic cheering crowd. But the men on the fleet had to enjoy their reception from a distance; shore-leave could not be

[1] Currie, Col. J. A.: *The Red Watch*, p. 56.

obtained; indeed, it was several days before some of the regiments were able to disembark. In the meantime, Lieut.-General Alderson, who had been chosen for the command of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, visited the Commanding Officers of the different units, and preparations for disembarkation were made. Control of the force now passed from the Canadian Department of Militia and Defence, and for over four years was to remain almost exclusively in the hands of the War Office.

The Contingent had arrived at a time when Allied reverses were weighing heavily on the spirits of the people of Great Britain. In the language of Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty: "Canada sends her aid at a timely moment. The conflict moves forward to its terrible climax, and fiercer struggles lie before us than any which have yet been fought." At the end of the fourth year of the war some of the men of this contingent were still fighting valiantly in France and Flanders, and the climax of the struggle had not been reached.

CHAPTER XV

AT SALISBURY PLAIN

EIGHTY-FOUR miles west—south-west of London and situated in the County of Wiltshire, is Salisbury, landmarked by the magnificent spire of its Cathedral, which rises four hundred feet above the level of the picturesque streets of the town. It has led a peaceful, uneventful existence since its foundation by the Bishop of Old Sarum over seven hundred years ago. The ruins of the ancient moated fortress of Old Sarum, established by the Norman Conqueror, still scar the hilltops a mile to the north, and stretching away towards the north-west on the opposite side of the valley is the road to Devizes, a town about twenty-five miles distant. This road bisects Salisbury Plain, an undulating plateau containing over two hundred square miles of rich pasture land dotted here and there with the long narrow plantations of trees devised in the days gone by as shelter for the flocks of sheep owned by the farmers of the surrounding villages.

The most striking feature of Salisbury Plain to the casual visitor has been Stonehenge, an irregular arrangement of large stone pillars and slabs about one hundred feet in diameter. Although the origin of this unique prehistoric monument is still in doubt, it is generally supposed to be a relic of Druidical times. The massive pillars of granite were evidently brought to their resting place from a great distance, probably from France. Barrows and tumuli are scattered over the downs, evidences of a Celtic civilization. A little to the north of the Stonehenge ruins are traces of a chariot race-course of the days of the Romans, and one mile and a half to the east are the earthworks which indicate the site of the camp of Vespasian. Within the area of Salisbury

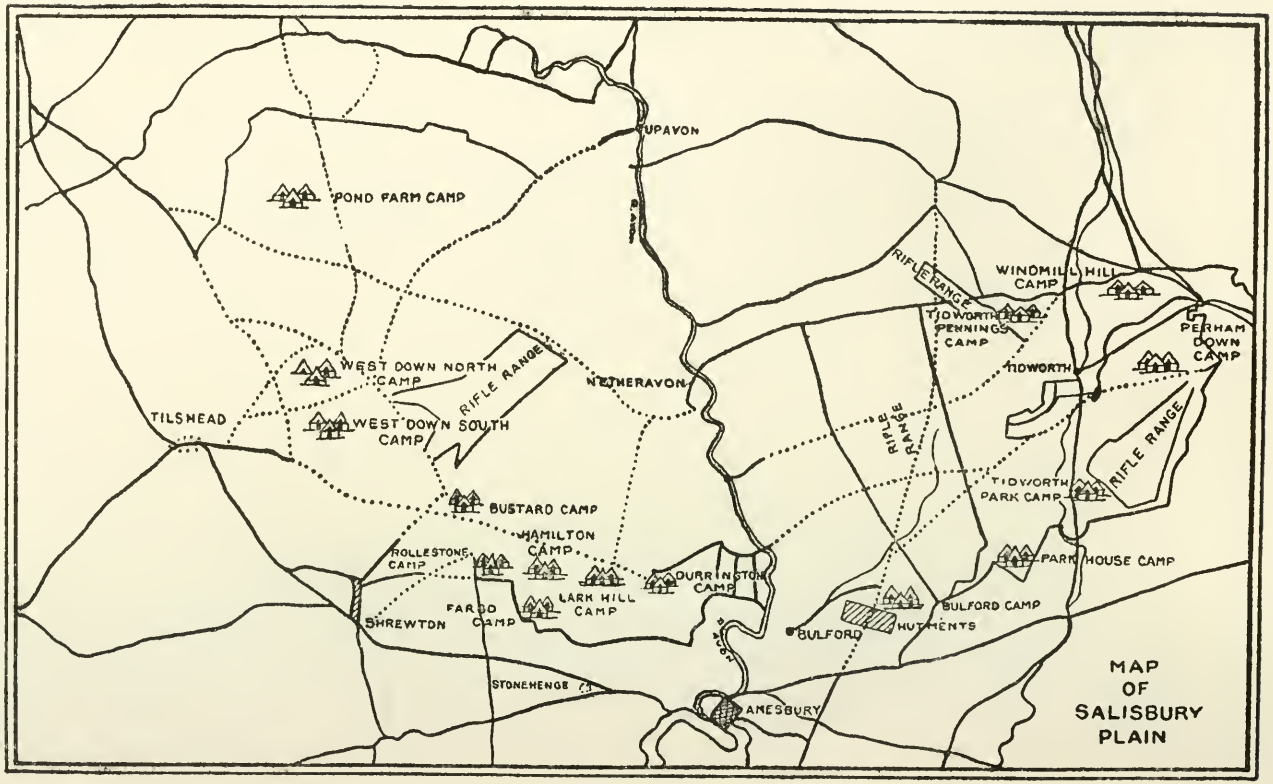
Photo: Underwood & Underwood

CANADIAN SOLDIERS RESTING AFTER A TRYING MARCH

Plain the lads from overseas had reminders of every stage in British history; relics of the days of the Britons, Celts, Romans, Saxons, and Normans were about them, while the quaint villages at every cross-road were typical of modern rural England. But to the future visitor Salisbury Plain will have new and dominating interest—to all time it will live in the memory of man as the spot where a vast army, gathered from the widely scattered British Empire, was trained to go forth to battle for human liberty.

Just a mile from Stonehenge and crossing the Plain from north to south almost parallel to the Salisbury-Devizes road and two to three miles farther east flows the River Avon. This river is not the Avon of Shakespeare and is nowhere, under normal conditions, more than a few yards wide. Situated on the Avon and around the border of the Plain are many deeply-shaded hamlets consisting as a general rule of some twenty or thirty thatched and ivy-covered cottages, a small stone church, usually dating back two or three hundred years, and one or two of the inevitable wayside taverns so common to the English countryside.

In 1900, the War Office secured an irregular area on Salisbury Plain, approximately twelve miles long and six miles wide, for the purpose of a training ground for the Regular Army and Territorial Forces, and, in addition to the Barrack at Tidworth and the permanent camps at Bulford and Netheravon, tents were erected for the summer training of the troops at Pond Farm, West Down North, West Down South, Bustard, Rollestone, Hamilton, Fargo, Lark Hill, and Durrington camps on that portion of the area west of the River Avon; and at Bulford, Park House, Tidworth Park, Perham Down, Windmill Hill, and Tidworth Pennings camps, east of the river. Extensive rifle and artillery ranges were constructed and Salisbury Plain became the Headquarters of the "Southern Command."


UPAVON
POND FARM CAMP
R. AVON
WINDMILL HILL CAMP
RIFLE RANGE
TIDWORTH PENNINGS CAMP
PERHAM DOWN CAMP
TIDWORTH
WEST DOWN NORTH CAMP
RIFLE RANGE
NETHERAVON
TILSHEAD
WEST DOWN SOUTH CAMP
RIFLE RANGE
RIFLE RANGE
BUSTARD CAMP
TIDWORTH PARK CAMP
RIFLE RANGE
HAMILTON CAMP
ROLLESTONE CAMP
DURRINGTON CAMP
PARK HOUSE CAMP
LARK HILL CAMP
FARDO CAMP
SHREWTON
BULFORD CAMP
HUTMENTS
BULFORD
R. AVON
STONEHENGE
AMESBURY
MAP OF SALISBURY PLAIN

At the outbreak of war Salisbury Plain played a most important part as a mobilization centre, and in October, 1914, four of the principal camps—Bustard, West Down South, West Down North, and Pond Farm—were prepared for the occupation of the Canadian Contingent.

On the 16th of October, troop trains commenced arriving at Amesbury, the largest of the villages on the railway, located on the Avon and within a mile of the War Department Area. A railway siding connects Amesbury and the permanent camp of Bulford, where the first Canadians to arrive at Salisbury Plain were temporarily accommodated. On the succeeding days all the available railway stations and sidings were appropriated and Salisbury Plain was literally deluged with troops; the narrow country lanes and little old world villages resounding with the tramp, tramp, tramp of the infantry, the rumble of the artillery, limbers, and transport wagons, and the clatter of the horses of the mounted troops as they rapidly detrained and passed in apparently endless procession, disappearing up the hills and converging on the four huge camps prepared to receive them. As far as was possible the Imperial Engineers had arranged the camps for occupation. The weather was so clear and bright, that, to those arriving in the middle of the day, the heat of the sun in the open in contrast to the deep shade of the villages, was uncomfortably noticeable. Although future circumstances necessitated considerable changes in the disposition of the Contingent, the original plan of the Imperial authorities for its accommodation was that adopted on arrival.

Lieutenant-General Edwin Alfred Hervey Alderson, C.B., was given command of the Canadian Contingent when it reached England. While there were several excellent Canadian officers who might have been selected for this important post, it would have been in the nature of an experiment to place any one of them in charge of a large army destined for action in the greatest and

most critical war in the history of the world. General Alderson was a soldier of wide experience. He was fifty-five years old and had had thirty years active service. He began his military life with the Militia, but joined the Regular Army on December 4th, 1878. He was first posted with the 1st Foot (the Royal Scots) but shortly afterward joined the Royal West Kent Regiment as a second-lieutenant. He was promoted lieutenant on July 1st, 1881, in which year he saw active service with the mounted infantry of the Natal Field Force. Under Sir Evelyn Wood he got his first lesson in actual war in the Transvaal Campaign. In the following year, once more with the mounted infantry, he was in Egypt and fought in the battles of Tel-el-Mahuta, Mahsameh, Kassassin, and Tel-el-Kebir. In 1884-85 he was a member of the Nile Expedition and with the Mounted Infantry Camel Regiment took part in the action of Abu Klea in January, 1885. He was promoted captain, June 12th, 1886, and was adjutant of his regiment from March 6th, 1890, to January 23rd, 1894. On May 27th, 1896, he received his majority. In this year, under Sir Frederick Carrington, he saw service in South Africa as commander of the mounted infantry and troops in Northern Mashonaland. For two years, September 1st, 1897, to October 8th, 1899, he was D.-A.-A.-G. at Aldershot. On the outbreak of the Boer War he was given command of the Mounted Infantry 1st Cavalry Brigade and held rank as A.-A.-G. During the Boer War he did most effective work, taking an important part in the relief of Kimberley, and in the battles of Paardeberg and Poplar Grove, and in numerous other lesser engagements. His worth received speedy recognition and from October 18th, 1900, until July 22nd, 1901, he acted as Brigadier-General, Mounted Infantry Brigade, South Africa, and from July 23rd, 1901, to May 5th, 1903, as Inspector-General, Mounted Infantry, South Africa. In 1903 he was appointed Brigadier-General, 2nd Infantry Brigade, 1st Army Corps, and held this appointment until February 28th,

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL E. A. H. ALDERSON, C. B.
"I have never been so proud of anything in my life as I am of my armlet with 'Canada' on it."

1907. In the meantime he had been promoted Major-General and as such he was, in January, 1908, chosen for the command of the 6th (Poona) Division, Southern Army in India and held this important command until 1912. He received the rank of lieutenant-general on October 14th, 1914, when about to take charge of the Canadian Contingent. During the course of his military career he won many decorations, among them the Khedive's Bronze Star, the Queen's Medal with five clasps, and the King's Medal with two clasps and was frequently mentioned in despatches. But the decoration which he probably values most is the Bronze Medal of the Royal Humane Society, awarded to him for saving the life of a private soldier from the turbulent waters of the Nile near Dongola on June 11th, 1885. It was with a sense of relief that Canada learned that a soldier of broad experience, proved on the field of battle, was to be the Commanding Officer of the Canadian Expeditionary Force.

The Headquarters of the Division, where General Alderson and his Staff were located, was at the "Bustard Inn" four or five miles from Salisbury City on the Salisbury-Devizes road. Almost due north, lay the four tented camps on the left hand side of the road; Bustard, West Down South, West Down North, and Pond Farm. The 1st, 2nd, 3rd Brigades of Infantry, and the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry occupied Bustard and West Down South; the Canadian Field Artillery, Canadian Army Medical Corps, the Canadian Army Service Corps and the Canadian Engineers and Mounted Troops, West Down North; and the 4th Brigade Infantry, part of the mounted troops, and the Newfoundland Contingent, Pond Farm.

The fine weather continued for four or five days, during which the men, profiting by their camping experience at Valcartier, settled down to make themselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit. The early mornings were clear and cold, rapidly tempering under the influence

of a brilliant sun to the heat of noon and as rapidly cooling about 3 p.m. to the chilly and misty evenings. All arrangements were excellent and were carried out with smoothness and celerity by the Imperial authorities. Every possible contingency seemed to have been foreseen and provided for. Camps were linked by telephone and telegraph. Post-offices were in full working order and a delivery of Canadian mail was made on the second day after the arrival of the Division.

Palliasses (cloth bags six feet long and two feet wide) and straw were issued for the making of tolerably comfortable mattresses, and new Army blankets were plentifully distributed. Loads of board tent floors were delivered to each camp. The greatest inconvenience was that of overcrowding, owing to a temporary shortage of tents. However, after muster parades were held, duties detailed, standing orders promulgated, and the usual routine matters of a new camp attended to, the Division felt at home and ready and anxious for the winter's training. Then, on the night of the 20th of October, the rain commenced to fall.

The guy ropes of the tents had been pulled taut during the preceding days of fine weather and as the rain soaked the canvas and ropes they contracted, pulling the pegs out of the sodden earth and tumbling the tents down upon the slumbering occupants. During the ensuing confusion, in which the men stumbled about half-clad in the pitch darkness vainly endeavouring to restore order out of chaos, most of the carefully planned arrangements for their comfort were utterly destroyed. It was the beginning of that long winter of hardship and discomfort. The English tents differed substantially in material from the Canadian tents and were by no means waterproof when standing. The poor quality canvas merely broke the heavier drops into fine particles of spray which settled and drenched everything within the tent as thoroughly as though it had been steamed. Blankets

became heavy with moisture, which clung to garments and bedding like a fine white frost.

The rain poured down all that night and on the following morning settled into a disheartening drizzle. The sod became broken into muddy paths between the tents, and as the men encroached on the firm ground on either side these paths gradually widened. The parade grounds and other frequented parts of the camps soon became large patches of sticky mud through which the steadily falling rain could not penetrate to drain away through the chalk below.

Such were the disappointing circumstances under which the Canadians commenced their training for "Overseas" —the word now applying to a crossing of the Channel— but the feeling that had existed at Valcartier was still prevalent, that the Canadian Divsion would not be ready in time to take part in the imminent and decisive rout of the German Army. This spurred the men on, and all ranks entered into the spirit of training with an enthusiasm and earnestness that overcame all difficulties and withstood all hardships.

The infantry battalions fell in to commence the day's training on their respective parade grounds, where they had the appearance of having sprouted from a pond of watery mud, feet quite invisible and in many cases almost knee-deep. The ground surrounding the camps, however, remained for the most part firm and solid and physical training, bayonet practice, and squad, platoon, and battalion drill were carried on from early morning until "retreat." Officers from the Imperial units in France were secured to lecture to the troops on the conditions existent at the battle front, and these men emphasized the fact that accurate rapid fire and cold steel had the most demoralizing effect on the massed German troops. Practically all the members of the Division had shot the ordinary course on the Valcartier ranges, but the Imperial authorities impressed the advisability of the complete course laid down in Imperial

regulations, and undoubtedly the finest in the world, by which a man is taught to become so familiar with his rifle that he will use it in offence or defence as naturally and unconsciously as he would an extra arm or leg.

So interested and enthusiastic did the men become in learning the use of rifle and bayonet in hand-to-hand conflict that orders were issued forbidding practice unless under a competent instructor, owing to the damage resulting to rifles, bayonets, and equipment generally.

The tops and sides of the less-frequented hills were utilized for training in the new art of entrenching. The commonplace pursuit of digging was possibly the most realistic training for the present war undertaken by the troops, although the fact could not be appreciated at the time. The construction of a narrow trench, from four to six feet deep, in hard, white, sticky, clinging chalk in a drizzling and incessant rain and while encumbered with full pack and equipment was surely a most realistic forecast of what was to come.

The laying of water mains in the camps furnished excellent opportunity for combining training with utility, as the art of trench warfare at that period was in a most undeveloped state and digging a drain very little different in principle from constructing a trench.

A day's route marching in "full marching order" in conjunction with the other units of a brigade, or a field day for battalion or brigade manœuvres, was invariably welcomed, as the countryside surrounding the War Department was of great interest to all ranks. The villages were an endless source of amusement and pleasure, and immediately after the day's work and on Saturday afternoons and Sundays hundreds of the men walked, rode, or bicycled to the surrounding towns and villages to buy souvenirs, eatables, necessaries, and luxuries at the quaint, old-fashioned shops and inns.

The general conduct of the Canadians thronging these villages, if not exemplary, was, at least on the whole, good. Their habitual good-nature and open-handed

Photo: Underwood & Underwood

THE WINNIPEG RIFLES TRAINING AT SALISBURY PLAIN

generosity towards the inhabitants were frequently deliberately imposed upon, and in such cases the men were carried beyond any personal intentions of wrong-doing. Cases of wilful damage and misdeeds committed by the more unruly members of certain units were summarily dealt with by the men themselves, the culprit being punished and forced to make restitution. The spirit of rivalry between the various units was keen, and any appeal to the men not to bring disgrace upon the particular unit of the Division of which they were members invariably met with a ready response.

Slanderous stories of crime and misconduct were spread by unfriendly critics and enemy agents and gained remarkable credence, not only in England, where at that time the word "Canadian" conjured up a picture of red Indians and cowboys, but at home in Canada where the subsequent contingents then in training were impressed with the necessity of living down the bad name gained by the First Contingent in England. Any city which was of such size as to number among its inhabitants thirty thousand, fit, adventurous, and active men and in which there was no record of crime or drunkenness, would indeed be utopian. Such a condition is by no means claimed, but drunkenness and lawlessness were the exception and not the rule.

At first the canteens of the Canadian Expeditionary Force were "dry," and if the Minister of Militia and Defence, Lieut.-General Sir Sam Hughes, had had absolute control of the troops after their arrival in England they would have remained "dry." The change to "wet canteens" has been the cause of much controversy, and many worthy, but not always well-informed, men and women have made bitter attacks on the authorities for the change. On November 30th, 1914, the Canadian Government stated that:

"The complete abolition of the 'wet canteen,' so-called, resulted in excesses and disorders among a few of the men when they obtained leave of absence and resorted to

neighbouring towns and villages where the opportunity to purchase liquor presented itself. After careful consideration, General Alderson determined that it would be better to have a regular wet canteen, at which beer might be sold at certain hours and under careful supervision; and canteens to be opened for one hour at noon and for three hours in the evening. Beer only is sold and non-commissioned officers are always on duty. The Government is assured by the War Office that the trouble in the neighbouring villages, which occasioned much concern at first, has practically ceased since the opening of these regulated and supervised canteens."

The following communication from Major-General S. B. Steele, G.O.C. Troops, Shorncliffe, read in the Canadian House of Commons on May 18th, 1917, is worthy of study in this regard:

"Regarding wet canteens, during the whole of my service I have been a strong advocate of dry canteens in camps in Canada and was the first officer to secure such; I have also made it a point to carefully watch the messes of any unit under my control to secure that moderation is observed at all times and that the iniquitous system of treating was not carried out. Dry canteens in camps removed from towns are practical and sound in Canada, but in camps—as in England—which are in close vicinity to towns where liquor can be obtained, wet canteens are, in my opinion, a safeguard and a help. These wet canteens are most strictly controlled, and sensible men can there secure good, wholesome beer. No man, even if he desired (and the great majority have no wish to do so), can secure more liquor than is good for him owing to disciplinary control, and intoxication through the medium of wet canteens is not therefore possible.

"Regarding public houses, these are also under the surveillance of the military police in addition to the civil police, and the town commandant watches these places very closely. The beer sold there is inspected by Government officials under the Pure Food and Drugs

Act to secure that it is wholesome and up to the Government standard.

"I would also add that, from my own personal observation, in and around the towns of Folkestone, Sandgate and vicinities, I have not seen any cases of drunkenness; had there been any, I would have noticed them as I have made it a special point to observe the troops in this connection. I feel that, as far as the Shorncliffe area is concerned, the charges made by the people in Canada in regard to drunkenness and the temptations which face the Canadian soldiers in this country are without foundation; rather, on the other hand, are their temptations greatly removed by the strict disciplinary control which is and has been exercised over the wet canteens in the camps at Shorncliffe and over the public houses in the towns adjoining. Personally, as G.O.C. Troops, Shorncliffe Command, I have exercised my fullest powers in this matter, and am satisfied that, as a result, this evil of drunkenness is virtually non-existent."

During the few hours in which the "wet" canteens were open in the evenings they were thronged with careless, happy men, forgetful of the fatiguing duties of the day, forgetful of the filth and mud, of the steadily falling rain and of the discomfort awaiting them all of sleeping in their sodden uniforms and bedding. The hot reeking marquees resounded with song and story; and while in the midst of one applauding group an extemporized orchestra of jews'-harp and mouth-organ would be furnishing music for a clog dance, a quiet game of chess or draughts would have an equally appreciative, if less demonstrative, audience, and, in a corner undisturbed by his surroundings, a lad of seventeen or eighteen would be writing that much-to-be-welcomed letter to his home.

The "dry" canteens and Y.M.C.A. tents were even more crowded with a jostling throng, eager to secure a place at the counters or a vacant chair at the writing-tables until the bugle summoned all to their respective tents, usually necessitating ploughing through two or

three hundred yards of mud, knee-deep, to turn in before "lights out."

The Division was reviewed by Earl Roberts on October 26th Many of the men had fought under his leadership in the South African War and looked upon him as an old friend. He won the hearts of this truly democratic army by addressing them as "brother soldiers." The Order of the Day issued by him at the time of this review shows admirably how Canada's act, in so promptly taking up arms in defence of the Empire and for the safeguarding of human liberty, was appreciated by this veteran military leader.

"Three months ago we found ourselves in this war, a war not of our own seeking, but one which those who have studied Germany's literature and Germany's aspirations, knew was a war which we should inevitably have to deal with sooner or later. The prompt resolve of Canada to give us such valuable assistance has touched us deeply. . . .

"We are fighting a nation which looks upon the British Empire as a barrier to her development, and has, in consequence, long contemplated our overthrow and humiliation. To attain that end she has manufactured a magnificent fighting machine, and is straining every nerve to gain victory. . . .

"When the time comes for you to take your place in the field you will find yourselves fighting side by side with the men of our Regular Army who have already done great deeds and endured great hardships; with the men of our Indian Army who have come with such devotion and such eagerness to take their share in defending British interests; and with men who, like yourselves, are coming from other self-governing Dominions to co-operate with us. I need not urge you to do your best, I know you will, for you will be fighting in the greatest of all causes, the cause of right, of justice, and of liberty, and may God prosper you in the great struggle."

2 1 3

1. KING GEORGE V.
2. LIEUT.-GEN. E. A. H. ALDERSON, C. B.
3. LIEUT.-COL. (AFTERWARDS MAJOR-GENERAL) M. S. MERCER

Photographed at Salisbury Plain

His Majesty the King, accompanied by Earl Roberts and Kitchener, reviewed the Division on November 4th. It was a dull cheerless day, but, as the King stepped forward to acknowledge the Royal Salute, the sun burst forth through a rift in the scudding clouds and flashed like a searchlight across a sea of gleaming wet bayonets. Thirty thousand of his most loyal subjects passed in review before His Majesty the King that day, most of them for the first time, some of them for the last time, for in the three short months that elapsed before his next visit many had been awarded the "little wooden cross."

On November 9th, 350 men of the Canadian Contingent took part in the Lord Mayor's procession in London. They represented every unit and were under the command of Colonels V. A. S. Williams and F. Reid. This same day saw a more important event—the departure for France of No. 2 Stationary Hospital. This small body of troops and nursing sisters was the first Canadian military force to cross the Channel, and their departure filled the Canadians generally with a longing to follow in their steps, but much training was still necessary, and for three more weary months the mud of Salisbury Plain had to be endured.

In December, the 2nd and 3rd Infantry Brigades occupied the new camp at Lark Hill, and the 4th Brigade, which was to become the Infantry Base, Sling Plantation. Lark Hill Camp lay almost opposite Stonehenge, within two miles of Amesbury, north of the road connecting that village with the Salisbury-Devizes road. Sling Plantation Camp was virtually an addition to Bulford Camp and received its name from a narrow grove of trees in whose shelter the camp had been erected. Both camps consisted of newly constructed hutments of corrugated iron on a wooden framework, raised a few feet above the ground on cement foundation pillars.

With the exception of the 1st Infantry Brigade, all the units had been moved by the 15th of December. The

Plain had become impossible for the mounted troops, which were then billeted in Devizes, Shrewton, Tilshead, Edington, Potterne, Upavon, Netheravon, Figheldean, and Woodford.

The Canadian Army Service Corps and Army Medical Corps operated in all camps, and stationary hospitals were situated at Bulford, Netheravon, and Lavington.

The Reinforcing Depot for the Division at Sling Plantation, formed of the 9th, 11th, 12th, and 17th Battalions, was being called upon from time to time to supply fit men to replace unlucky members of the chosen division, who became injured or broke down in training owing to ill health or physical disabilities. The 1st Infantry Brigade remained at Bustard right through the winter under canvas, occasionally shifting the camp site farther from the road towards firmer ground as the mud threatened to engulf entirely the tents and their occupants. Here oil stoves were provided and a daily allowance of oil per man. The atmosphere in the interior of an ordinary bell tent containing six or eight men and heated by an oil stove is more easily imagined than described. At night the tents were fastened tightly inside to prevent the entrance of the cold, wet air, the oil stove in the centre, burning brightly and emitting a heavy, odorous heat, and eight perspiring men in their saturated clothing, liberally plastered with mud, smoking pipes or cigarettes, with kit-bags, blankets, packs, palliasses, rifles, overcoats, and innumerable personal belongings scattered about the floor or hanging on the tent pole. In a very few minutes the heat raised steam from the wet clothing and the air became dense and stifling to any but the initiated. When the reeking atmosphere became sufficiently warm, the men stripped and endeavoured to rid their underclothing of the daily accumulation of vermin. These body pests, at their first appearance most offensive, were soon regarded in the same way as the mud—unpleasant but unavoidable, and therefore to be ignored while more serious business

Photo: Underwood & Underwood

THE PIPERS OF THE CANADIAN HIGHLANDERS OF MONTREAL IN THE LORD MAYOR'S PARADE, LONDON

was at hand. The most scrupulous cleanliness was not proof against these tenacious and persistent pests.

On one occasion a storm of more than usual violence razed practically every tent to the ground. The wind was so fierce that the united efforts of four or five men were unable to save their tent and belongings. The mud seemed to take advantage of the resulting confusion to encroach on everything that had managed up to that time to retain some semblance of its original appearance. Small articles were buried deep and never recovered. Divisional Headquarters suffered irreparably when the tents and marquees utilized as offices surrounding Bustard Inn were blown down and the contents of the files and records scattered far and wide over the muddy fields and roads. Even documents written months afterwards were lost in the "storm of Bustard." In the hutted camps sheets of corrugated iron three feet wide and four to six feet long were picked up and blown about like so much paper and were the cause of many painful injuries, not only on the night of the storm but long afterwards, as they became partially buried in the mud and presented sharp cutting edges to the unwary.

The field ambulances and hospitals had been continually handling, almost to full capacity, cases of injury and disease, and the nursing sisters early gained a reputation for cheerfulness and fortitude. Working around the hospitals, wet, muddy, and uncomfortable in rubber knee-boots, sharing the hardships of the men as a matter of course, they set an example of willingness and cheerfulness that would have shamed the slacker into action had he been able to witness it. They faced death daily, for, apparently at random, spinal meningitis chose its victims. Rigorous measures were taken to check the dread disease; whole sections of camps were quarantined and every possible contact isolated under the closest observation. In spite of all precautions, military funerals became a common, indeed, almost daily spectacle, and as they wended their way towards the peaceful little church-

yards, guards turned out, sentries and stragglers sprang to attention, and passing regiments sloped arms and gravely saluted their fallen comrade under the Union Jack on the gun carriage. It was more in heartfelt sympathy than in sorrow that after travelling so far and enduring so much he should be robbed by a loathsome disease of the privilege of fighting for his country.

The camps of hutments at Lark Hill and Sling Plantation instead of improving conditions made them worse, if such a thing were possible. It was an impossibility to move the camp site when the mud became too deep for comfort, as was the case in the tented camps. Conditions underfoot went from bad to worse. Improvised snow-plows, adapted by the ingenious pioneers to the local conditions, were started out gaily to make a path across a parade ground, only to be irretrievably lost midway on their journey.

The huts were intended to accommodate thirty men and were heated by one stove in the centre. They were invariably overcrowded, and it was a physical impossibility under the circumstances to keep the floors even passably clean. Long-handled brushes of intensely stiff bristles were used twice daily, and fatigue parties with pails and mops were continually on the defensive in an almost hopeless fight. On the boots and clothing of the men, through the doors and windows and through the cracks in the floors the mud intruded. Around the stove in the centre it dried into dust and climbing the walls filled every nook and cranny, and under the influence of the penetrating rain and rising steam formed mud on the walls. Each night the stoves were walled in with fifty or sixty pairs of army boots, piled up neatly, soles inward, drying out. In the morning each man would break off his own pair from the solid mass caked together with dried mud and put them on with sufficient care to preserve the inch-thick deposit without a crack, knowing it to form his best protection against any unnecessary amount of muddy water getting inside.

CANADIAN TRANSPORTS IN ENGLISH FLOODS

Salisbury Plain, January, 1915

The task of the C.A.S.C. in supplying the camps became a most stupendous one, but, in spite of overwhelming difficulties, they proved their ability to operate with a division on active service. The road-beds in many places had become practically impossible, the motor trucks sinking up to their hubs in the mud and the horses floundering helplessly with only medium-sized loads. The River Avon, normally a limpid stream, became a swollen torrent destroying rustic bridges and flooding roads and villages to a depth of three and four feet, necessitating circuitous and tedious journeys and prolonging working hours long into the scheduled rest periods. But the distribution of provisions and supplies proceeded without any apparent interruption and the quantities consumed daily in each camp, tremendous as they would appear to a layman, were invariably forthcoming from that indefatigable and apparently inexhaustible C.A.S.C.

Christmas Day, 1914, was not, as might be supposed, a day of sorrowful longing for the bright Christmases of the past back home in Canada. With from fourteen to twenty-four inches of mud and water underfoot reflecting a muddy sky overhead through a steaming drizzle of rain, the smiles of the men seemed a little brighter and their voices more jolly, as if to assure themselves that in spite of all appearances to the contrary it was really Christmas and they knew it. In so far as it was possible Christmas leave had been granted, and to those remaining in camp, who were to celebrate the holiday by leave on the following week-end, was served a real full-course Christmas dinner, after which amusements, clever, diverse, and entertaining, and arranged and produced mainly among themselves, served to lighten the spirits of all and carry the fun and frolic far into the night. Several of the huts were particularly lucky in being entertained by famous London concert and music-hall artists, who dauntlessly braved the appalling weather and unselfishly devoted their own holidays to the amusement

of their colonial cousins. Many of the young ladies were by no means strangers, but frequently devoted their spare time, fatiguing as it undoubtedly was to them, to arranging extra concerts and entertainments to delight their grateful admirers.

Before the New Year dawned rumours of a move "overseas" commenced to circulate. Already the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry were in France, having crossed the Channel early in December. The regiment was now with the 27th Division of Kitchener's Army and was within sound of the guns. Training had been proceeding apace and Divisional manœuvres had even been undertaken. Officers and N.C.O.'s had been detailed to courses at Imperial schools of instruction as fast as vacancies occurred and transmitted in turn the extra knowledge thus gained to their own men on their return. Field days became more numerous, and the 4th Brigade—the Reinforcing Base—held in readiness a Base Detail for each of the units of the three brigades forming the Division. No men ever felt themselves so highly favoured as those chosen from this 4th Brigade to accompany the Division in the place of the casualties, while the patients in hospital chafed with the inaction and the fear of being transferred to the Depot and replaced by more fit men. Meanwhile the Division was undergoing organization for the field. A Record and Pay Office was formed and documents collected and posted up to date. Confidential instructions were issued setting forth the procedure to be followed in all manner of contingencies preparatory to proceeding "overseas." Certain changes were made in commands and staffs. The men were instructed as to the disposal of their surplus baggage and kit, what they must carry, what it must weigh, how to wear their identification disc, and what it was for, and also how to make their wills in the back of their pay books and of the thousand small but important items incidental to service as a Canadian soldier with the British Expeditionary Force.

But all of those who underwent training at Salisbury Plain were not to go to France as a part of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. Many had been discharged and many more placed in the list to be discharged as soon as arrangements could be made. The three principal reasons for discharge at this time were:

1. As unlikely to become an efficient soldier.
2. As medically unfit.
3. To accept a commission in the Imperial Forces.

Of the first category fortunately the numbers were small, but there were a few who were not subservient to military discipline, incorrigible, a nuisance to their officers and a disgrace to their uniforms. When a man's conduct sheet told a story of continual misconduct and it was found that his time was divided almost equally between confinement in the guard-room and absence without leave, the Commanding Officer had recourse to only one proceeding—to apply for his discharge on the terms that he was "unlikely to become an efficient soldier," and rid the service of his presence.

The second category were the most unfortunate—those who had possibly overrated their ability to withstand the rigours of army life, or who through accident or disease had become broken in health, were admitted to hospital and classified by the Medical Officer as "permanently unfit"—to these the sympathy of all their comrades was readily extended. It was necessary that they should be discharged and returned to Canada, as in many cases the English climate was an aggravation of the disability.

Of the last category the 1st Division became justly proud. At the first, more or less grudgingly applicants for commissions in the Imperial Army from the ranks of the Canadians were considered and finally appointed, but, as time went on and the status of the Canadian Tommy became better known and appreciated, applicants were accepted without question other than the recommendation of the Commanding Officer of the unit.

In these early days of the war, October, November, December, 1914, the "ranker" was hardly viewed in the light of present day developments or even of the developments the next few months bestowed, but to secure guaranteed material for the ideal young and stalwart officers of the New Army no source was so fruitful as the voluntary battalions of Canada's Expeditionary Force.

To still the impatience of the troops eager for battle came the final review before the King on February 4th, 1915. Just six months from the actual declaration of War here stood a complete division ready for an unknown battlefield, with confidence in themselves and their leaders apparent in their every movement. They had an appearance of solidarity, of unshakeable determination, of a deeply-rooted intention to "make good" in this war game. And that winter on Salisbury Plain was a satisfaction to each and every member of the Division. It had hall-marked him as a Canadian soldier, sound mentally and physically, trained and equipped, passed with honours through the severest tests ever adopted to select picked troops. The King in his address reiterated his confidence in them and so voiced the feelings of the nation. The Division in review was composed of every arm of the Service, a moveable city of over 20,000 men, self-supporting and self-governed with hospitals and doctors, butcheries and bakeries, police, postmen, carpenters, every conceivable trade useful to a community represented, each arm dependant on the others, all comprising a perfect unit.

The days following the King's review were spent in feverish anticipation of immediate departure. Kits were most carefully packed and stowed away, only to be overhauled the following day for unexpectedly required articles. There was apparently an impression among the men that the Division might be moved to France in the middle of the night without even their own knowledge, and that they would awaken to find themselves within

CANADIANS READY FOR INSPECTION BY THE KING, PRIOR TO CROSSING TO FRANCE

Salisbury Plain, February 4, 1915

sound of the guns and having missed the Channel crossing. Finally, however, on the night of the 8th of February, definite orders were received. The moment had come to move and with it the excitement and anxiety died away. With business-like precision arrangements were completed. The move was to be made with as little noise and bustle as possible. Every man knew what was expected of him and what he had to do and when he had to do it, due to the careful instruction issued long before and practically memorized by everyone concerned. Each unit had its own time for falling in, its own time for leaving the camp and its own time for passing a given point on its way to the station to entrain. And again the wonder of the Imperial organization was apparent. As each train was loaded, it pulled out without loss of time to be replaced by another, the size of each train nicely gauged to the size of the unit to be accommodated without waste space or undue overcrowding. Train after train departed from the little country station for a destination unknown, save possibly to the engine-drivers and the secretive Railway Transport Officer at the station. And when morning broke those huge camps were deserted. Later in the day small fatigue parties moved mournfully about collecting and burning rubbish and sorting and packing articles returnable to Ordnance. In one camp only was the routine undisturbed. At Sling Plantation the 4th Brigade "carried on" as before, unconscious of the fact that the Division had pulled out until rumours to that effect were confirmed by despatch riders returning with envelopes addressed "Headquarters-Bustard" undelivered. Then and only then did those four battalions give up the cherished hope that they might accompany their more fortunate comrades. Never did the weather appear more miserable, their surroundings more dreary and uninteresting, and their lives more useless and undesirable. Little surprise and less objection would have been exhibited at an order to return to Canada. But brighter days were to come. Joining the

6th Fort Garry Horse at Tidworth Barrack, a depot was formed and designated the Canadian Training Depot, and before a month had elapsed a demand arrived from "overseas" for reinforcements. This put the 4th Brigade back into the fight again, and when the move to Shorncliffe was made early in March to join the 23rd, 30th, and 32nd Battalions newly arrived from Canada, the Canadian Training Division was formed and the 1st Canadian Division assured of reinforcements to its depleted ranks whenever these were required.

INCIDENT IN ROUTE MARCH OF CANADIANS
Photographed at Salisbury Plain

OFFICERS 14TH BATTALION, C. E. F.

CHAPTER XVI

FIRST CANADIAN UNIT IN FRANCE

PECULIAR interest centres about the pioneers in any movement. The Canadian regiments at Salisbury Plain were all eager to be first in France, but it was the privilege of one little unit—No. 2 Stationary Hospital—to be the first to cross the English Channel. Canada was thus to begin her war-work in Europe, not on the battlefield but in a hospital; not in the taking of life but in the humane work of restoring the broken warriors to health, enabling them to once more take their places in the fighting ranks or to return to the care of their friends.

In the second week of November, while the mud and rain was making life almost unbearable at Salisbury Plain, orders came that No. 2 Stationary Hospital was to get ready to move immediately to France. There was rejoicing among the hundred-odd men under Lieut.-Colonel A. T. Shillington, and a degree of excusable jealousy in the other units that were to be left behind indefinitely to drill and practise trench-digging, to fight the mud, and to endure the unceasing rain. In a sense the men of this hospital unit were not to be the first Canadians in France. Already fighting both in France and Flanders were many Canadians—business men who had been employed in various parts of Great Britain when war broke out; Oxford students, several of them Rhodes Scholarship men, and many Royal Military College graduates. But these were all attached as individuals to British regiments and had thus lost their identity as Canadians.[1]

The unit under Lieut.-Colonel Shillington's command, when taken on the strength at Valcartier, consisted of

[1]See Appendix I.

102 officers and men. In the unit there were 58 Canadians, 27 Englishmen, 8 Scotsmen, 1 Irishman, 1 Welshman, 5 Americans, and 2 whose place of birth was not stated in the "Nominal Roll." It will be seen from this that No. 2 Stationary Hospital contained a larger proportion of Canadians than the majority of Canadian units, of which from sixty to eighty per cent. claimed the British Isles as their place of birth. The officers were all Canadians. They were Lieut.-Colonel A. T. Shillington, Major H. C. S. Elliott, Major F. N. McKelvey Bell, Capt. Chas. A. Young, Capt. Jas. H. Wood, Capt. M. S. Fisher, Hon. Capt. J. S. Walker, and Capt. W. J. Bentley.

At 3 a.m. on the morning of November 9th, 1914, by the dull glow of candles and misty lanterns, the work of packing up began. At 9 a.m. the lorries reached the camp of the unit. In a pouring rain they were quickly loaded with camp supplies and hospital necessities, and with forty tons of goods plowed their way over the rain-drenched road to the railway station. As the hospital unit marched out of camp envious groups lined the wayside cheering them on their journey and wishing them God-speed.

Night had fallen before the unit reached Southampton, their port of departure. The ship that was to carry the Canadians to France was waiting at the dock. She was a stately India liner, taken over by the Admiralty for transport purposes. All was bustle about the liner; horses and men of a British regiment were in course of embarkation when the Canadians arrived. But the loading was speedily done, and in a brief space of time No. 2 Stationary Hospital was all on board. The Commanding Officer of the regiment had gone to a nearby station to meet thirty-five nursing sisters who were to accompany the unit to France. He arrived at the ship just as she was about to cast off her lines, and with much chagrin announced that he would not be able to sail with the unit but would follow it by another boat. He had found the nursing sisters, but he had found also

that they had with them an immense load of impedimenta. This it would be impossible to get to the transport in time, and there was nothing left for the Colonel to do but to take them and their baggage to France in another vessel.

In the darkness the liner crept out of Southampton and headed for France. The passage was a risky one. German submarines were in the Channel, and the Admiralty had not yet succeeded in inventing methods for satisfactorily fighting the menace on that vital highway of war. But the India liner was well protected. As the men from Canada peered through the darkness they saw "a dull glow some distance ahead" and "a ghostly shape in their wake." At times the lights shifted; now to larboard, now to starboard, and again crisscrossing ahead and behind. When daylight came they saw that these swift-sailing guardians were two torpedo-boat destroyers, beating the water for submarines, anxiously scanning every yard of the channel for the death-heralding periscope. The morning had broken mistily, and as the day advanced a heavy fog shrouded the waters. The guardian destroyers became vague shapes in the whiteness, and then disappeared from view. For a time the speed of the ship was "dead slow," and finally the engines ceased pulsating. To advance in such a fog was perilous, and yet it seemed dangerous to remain still in this submarine-haunted highway. But if any enemy were near at hand they would have difficulty in locating the transport either by means of their periscopes or from their listening chambers. And all the while the destroyers were on guard; now and then the siren of the liner shrieked a blast, which was immediately answered by the sharp notes of their guardians' whistles. For a day and a night the fog continued, and it was not until the morning of the second day that they came within sight of the port of Le Havre, having taken two nights and a day to make a journey that is usually done in a few hours.

The harbour presented a busy scene; warships, cattle-boats, and transports were gathered there; but what interested the men of the Canadian hospital unit most was a Belgian hospital-ship, on which, as they steamed by, they could see the doctors and nursing sisters ministering to wounded men. Darkness had fallen before they were able to leave their ship to march to quarters prepared for them in a huge military camp back of the city. As they threaded their way to their camp, the news spread that Canadians had arrived in France. The inhabitants of Le Havre had a vague idea that men from the land of Jacques Cartier and Champlain, of Frontenac and Montcalm, were coming to help them keep back the German invaders. This small unit was evidence that such was the case, and as it advanced the streets became packed with an enthusiastic, cheering crowd. A member of the unit wrote thus about the occasion:

"The first half-mile of our march was uneventful, as there were few people in the streets of the *basse ville;* but as we passed farther up into the city the sidewalks became crowded with spectators. At first the French mistook us for English soldiers on the march, the sight of whom, while an almost hourly occurrence, was still a matter of keen interest. But as the crowd became larger and larger, and . . . . caught a glimpse of our shoulder badges marked "Canada," the word was passed from mouth to mouth with lightning-like rapidity, and the excitement became intense.

"They broke forth into the wildest cheering and shouted again and again *'Les Canadiens!' 'Vive le Canada!'* until the clamour was deafening, men, women, and children surrounding us in thousands, laughing, singing, and talking, shaking the soldiers by the hand and embracing and even kissing them in the excess of their welcome."[1]

[1]Bell, F. McKelvey: *The First Canadians in France*, pp. 62-63.

"God Save the King" and "La Marseillaise" were enthusiastically sung by the crowd and the marching men. The Canadians, with their hearts full of their homeland, broke out into the strains of "The Maple Leaf," sung possibly for the first time on French soil, certainly for the first time by a body of soldiers. The only regrettable thing about the reception was that the Commanding Officer was not present to enjoy it. Other units—regiments, brigades, and divisions—were to cross to France, but none of them was to receive the spontaneous, whole-hearted welcome given to the men of No. 2 Stationary Hospital.

The unit remained in camp at Le Havre for a few days, and then orders came to proceed to Boulogne where Lieut.-Colonel Shillington and the nursing sisters, under Matron Ethel B. Ridley, were awaiting it. When Boulogne was reached the first work of the officers was to locate hospital quarters. The demand, due to the heavy fighting of the past four months, had been so great that every favorable place seemed occupied, and ten days were to pass before a suitable location was found. This was at Le Touquet, by the shore of the North Sea. The building selected was the Golf Hotel, well known to English tourists. It was situated in an ideal spot, twenty-two miles from Boulogne, on the edge of a pine forest. When the advanced party of officers arrived after nightfall to take over the building, they were not at first prepossessed by its appearance. The background of dark trees, the ghostly limestone walls three stories in height, the unused, rusty tramway leading to its gate had a depressing effect. It seemed utterly deserted. But the scene was to be transformed. In answer to their ring, the main door rolled back, electric lights were switched on, and the whole place was flooded with light. It was as though they had entered a magic palace of the *Arabian Nights.*

The Golf Hotel was owned by an English company and had been fitted up with every comfort and luxury.

The astonished officers saw about them hand-carved olive-wood and mahogany furniture, tables spread "with fine linen, sparkling cut glass, crested silver, and Limoges china." The doors had heavy silk hangings, while on the floors were Turkish and Persian rugs. Each room had an open fireplace and on their entering they were welcomed by a roaring blaze in a large room off the rotunda. Bath rooms are not common in France, but this institution had been fitted up by Englishmen and had thirty-four in all. To add to the unreality of their situation they discovered that the wine-cellar had an abundance of choice wines of every vintage. After the mud and rain, the cramped, uncomfortable quarters of Salisbury Plain, Le Touquet Golf Hotel, which was to be the home of the unit till October 21st, 1915, seemed a veritable paradise.

But much of the luxurious trappings of the hotel had to disappear. Carpets and rugs and silk hangings were germ-catchers and had no place in a hospital, and the next two or three days were spent in taking them down, removing pictures and statuary, scrubbing floors and walls, and making the whole building thoroughly sanitary. The work was hardly completed when news came that the unit was to receive 300 patients. Then began their labours, which reached a climax at the time of the Second Battle of Ypres, when hundreds of Canadian wounded were rushed to La Touquet to be cared for by the doctors and nursing sisters of the Canadian hospital. Of their activities at this period, *The Times History of The War* says: "The work performed by Colonel Shillington and his associates from Canada represented an act of great self-sacrifice on their part; but the service was rendered in a devoted and unselfish spirit which discounted material loss."

CHAPTER XVII

THE FIRST DIVISION OFF FOR FRANCE

SALISBURY PLAIN had proved a trying ordeal for the men of the First Contingent. Rain and mud, mist and damp cold, had tried their spirits. The eternal round of drill and discipline had made the majority of the soldiers from Canada weary of the war before they had got within sound of the guns. The hard conditions under which they had been living had been the cause of much sickness, and many had succumbed to disease. But this was all to end. On the 8th of February it became known that the Canadians were to be sent immediately across the Channel. The men knew that the order for the Division to sail for France meant greater hardship in the trenches than they had endured in England, and imminent death from bullet, bomb, or bayonet. This they eagerly welcomed; this was what they had journeyed across the Atlantic to face. The news that the Contingent was to proceed "overseas" to take part in the mighty struggle that was being waged against the German hordes and the German war-machine, from the shores of the North Sea to the borders of Switzerland, brought new life to the men. One and all welcomed the order; the only unhappy ones were those who for various causes had to be left behind.

The embarkation of the 1st Canadian Division for transportation to France in the second week of February, 1915, took place at Avonmouth, the seaport of Bristol. Every detail of the move had been previously skilfully planned so as to avoid confusion or delay en route to the point of embarkation. The entire Division of over 20,000 men with the regular complement of horses, guns, wagons, and supplies left Salisbury Plain during

a day and a night. Movement orders were so carefully planned that no one unit on the march entered a road already occupied by another unit, arrived at a railway station where the Railway Transport Officer was not prepared at that particular moment to receive them, or found that accommodation on train or boat had not been accurately provided.

The handling of the baggage, the stowage and lashing of movable cargo, and the difficult task of the accommodation of the animals and making all ship-shape for the Channel crossing went on without hesitation or delay to its satisfactory completion, and, as the transports pulled away from the docks and lay to awaiting Admiralty instructions to proceed, the men, with happy sighs of relief after the excitement and labours of the previous few hours, fell to planning arrangements for their own comfort. The period of inactivity, however, was short-lived. Parties were detailed to the various duties attendant upon the voyage; life-boat parade and drill were held and all instructed as to their behaviour in case of accident or alarm. The detailing to quarters had been part of the arrangements upon embarkation.

Apart from the military stores, no cargo was being carried, and, as a result, most of the boats were travelling comparatively lightly ballasted. The guns and ammunition of the artillery comprised the major portion of the contents of the holds.

Very early in the morning of the day following embarkation, the boats pulled away from their moorings at the mouth of the River Severn and set out for the coast of France. The weather was bright and cold with only a light breeze rippling the surface of the sea. Destroyers criss-crossed back and forth in front of the vessels, keeping close watch for enemy submarines and floating mines, and occasionally signalling to one another as they steamed an irregular and apparently aimless course out to the open sea. None of the transports were capable of making any great speed, but each had a

CANADIANS RECEIVING TRENCH INSTRUCTION

Photographed at Salisbury Plain

machine-gun or light-caliber gun mounted forward and aft as protection against attack. The first day at sea was all that could have been desired. When morning broke the coast of Wales was plainly visible, the air was clear and bright, and the sea calm. Shipping was going on apparently undisturbed, but the guardian destroyers still darted about and criss-crossed the path the transports were to follow. The day on board was uneventful, and exercise and life-boat drills took place morning and afternoon. Many of the men seized the opportunity of writing overdue letters to their relatives and friends, others indulged in games or paced the decks or slept encumbered by large, unwieldly life-belts strapped about their shoulders. Towards evening the ship's crew prepared for a change in the weather and word passed about that a storm was anticipated. To many, however, the coming of the storm was as sudden and unexpected as the crash which awakened them to the realization that the vessel was lurching violently to and fro, and that some heavy object had broken loose and was thrashing about on deck or in the hold.

Several were painfully injured in the few hours that followed, until the men realized that moving about unnecessarily was a dangerous and difficult thing to do. In the hold the plight of the animals was really pitiful. Some of the poor brutes, crazed with fear, broke loose and were killed by being tossed about between decks, or were kicked and trampled to death by their team-mates. In spite of the wretchedness of seasickness, and the difficulties and dangers in the holds of the pitching ships, the animals had to receive attention, the shifting cargo captured and lashed securely, and a constant watch kept lest the fastenings of the big guns should work loose and endanger the whole ship. On some of the vessels the Admiralty stevedores were either inexperienced or had not reckoned on stormy weather, and much of the cargo, particularly the wagons, had been carelessly loaded. The noise made by heavy vehicles tossing about between

decks had a terrifying effect. Those on board the ships who were acquainted with Hugo's *Ninety-Three* recalled the heroic fight between the French master-gunner and the iron monster that had broken loose in the hold of the ship. If such a catastrophe occurred now, they thought, would the iron walls of their vessel offer as vigorous a resistance to a big gun run amuck as did the wooden walls of the warship of the days of the French Revolution. But fortunately the strength of none of the ships carrying the Canadians was to be put to such a test; although the wagons and smaller freight kept up a merry dance as the vessels rose and fell on the giant seas, more care seems to have been taken in stowing the guns and none escaped from their fastenings.

All the following day and night the storm continued unabated, and in some instances the boats were blown far out of their course. There was no sign of the accompanying destroyers, but few gave heed to the possibility of submarine attack in such a sea. The whistling of the wind through the masts and rigging, the creaking of the decks and partitions, and the violent rolling and pitching of the ships engaged what little interested attention the men retained. The following day dawned without any apparent reduction in the fury of the storm, but towards the afternoon the wind had much abated, the sun was shining brightly, and the temperature became very mild.

The coast of France was a welcome sight, although it was far into the day following before the transports docked. St. Nazaire had been the objective port, and, with a few exceptions of boats which were forced by the storm to make what port they could in the emergency, all docked safely and with very few serious casualties, despite the terrible experiences of the voyage. There was no enthusiastic reception at the French ports. With businesslike precision arrangements were made for the disembarkation. Battalion and battery commanders renewed touch with Brigade Headquarters and

Brigade with Divisional Headquarters, rendezvous were announced and organization effected.

The Unit Commanders of the 1st Canadian Division on its arrival in France were as follows:

Commander of Units

1st Infantry Brigade—

Brigade Commander, Lt.-Col. M. S. Mercer.
Officer Commanding 1st Battalion, Lt.-Col. F. W. Hill.
Officer Commanding 2nd Battalion, Lt.-Col. David Watson.
Officer Commanding 3rd Battalion, Lt.-Col. R. Rennie.
Officer Commanding 4th Battalion, Lt.-Col. A. P. Birchall.

2nd Infantry Brigade—

Brigade Commander, Lt.-Col. A. W. Currie.
Officer Commanding 5th Battalion, Lt.-Col. G. S. Tuxford.
Officer Commanding 7th Battalion, Lt.-Col. W. F. H. Hart-McHarg.
Officer Commanding 8th Battalion, Lt.-Col. L. J. Lipsett.
Officer Commanding 10th Battalion, Lt.-Col. R. L. Boyle.

3rd Infantry Brigade—

Brigade Commander, Col. R. E. W. Turner, V.C., D.S.O.
Officer Commanding 13th Battalion, Lt.-Col. F. O. W. Loomis.
Officer Commanding 14th Battalion, Lt.-Col. F. S. Meighen.
Officer Commanding 15th Battalion, Lt.-Col. J. A. Currie.
Officer Commanding 16th Battalion, Lt.-Col. R. G. E. Leckie.

Division Artillery—

Commander, Lt.-Col. H. E. Burstall.

Officer Commanding 1st Artillery Brigade, Lt.-Col. E. W. B. Morrison.

Officer Commanding 2nd Artillery Brigade, Lt.-Col. J. J. Creelman.

Officer Commanding 3rd Artillery Brigade, Lt.-Col. J. H. Mitchell.

Commander Divisional Engineers, Lt.-Col. C. J. Armstrong.

Commander Divisional Mounted Troops, Lt.-Col. F. C. Jameson.

Commander Divisional Signal Company, Major F. A. Lister.

The commanders of the brigades and battalions did not long remain with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In the first week of June, 1916, the commander of the 1st Infantry Brigade, now a major-general and in command of a Canadian division, died gallantly fighting in the opening hours of the Battle of Sanctuary Wood. In the third year of the war the officer who took the 2nd Infantry Brigade to France was a C.B., K.C.M.G., a lieutenant-general, and commander-in-chief of the Canadian army in France; while the officer who in February, 1915, acted in a similar capacity with the 3rd Infantry Brigade had likewise been awarded a C.B. and a K.C.M.G., and was, too, a lieutenant-general and commander of the Canadian Forces in the British Isles. The battalion commanders had with one or two exceptions been decorated and achieved the rank of Major-General. Three of the battalion commanders, Birchall, Hart-McHarg, and Boyle, men of great achievement and greater promise, had fallen in battle.

OFFICERS 15TH BATTALION (48TH HIGHLANDERS) OF TORONTO

Photographed at Salisbury Plain

CHAPTER XVIII

PRINCESS PATRICIA'S CANADIAN LIGHT INFANTRY

WAR was declared on Germany by Great Britain at midnight on August 4th, 1914. Before noon on the following day, the Government of Canada received an offer from Mr. Andrew Hamilton Gault of Montreal to equip a regiment for active service overseas. It was to be a regiment composed, as far as possible, of men who had already seen active service; and so eager were the experienced soldiers in Canada to fight once more the battles of the Empire that within seven days after enlistment began the ranks were full and the "Princess Patricia's" was a regiment in being.

The regiment was named "Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry" in honour of the daughter of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, then Governor-General of the Dominion. The command was entrusted to Lieut.-Colonel Francis D. Farquhar, D.S.O., the Military Secretary to the Governor-General. No better or more fortunate choice could have been made, for Colonel Farquhar, although barely forty years old, had had a wide military experience—a training which covered both the practice and the theory of war. A Guardsman, he had joined the Coldstreams in 1896, and three years later went with them to the South African campaign, and there won his D.S.O. After the settlement at Vereeniging in May, 1902, Colonel Farquhar did not long enjoy his honours at home, for 1903 found him in Somaliland, where he again distinguished himself on the battlefield. On the close of that campaign and for the next five years, his training in the art of war was continued as a member of the General Staff at the War Office; in 1913 he was transferred to Canada on the personal staff of the Duke of Connaught. The experience thus

gained rendered Francis Farquhar one of the best soldiers of his time, and he was besides a man by character exceptionally qualified to inspire the confidence of his subordinates.

The regiment that he was now called upon to command was absolutely unique; no similar body of experienced soldiers had ever mustered under the one regimental flag in the history of our own or any other Empire. It was a microcosm of the British Army; every regiment from the 1st Life Guards to the Departmental Corps had its representatives. The Royal Regiment of Artillery was there in all its branches; the Navy sent its quota of seamen and marines. This was no doubt a mistake and a waste of material which Canada ill could spare in view of subsequent developments, for these men were a leaven which, rightly used, would have been of vast assistance to Sir Sam Hughes in his later labours with the Canadian Expeditionary Force.

At this point, it might be well to glance at an authentic record of the composition of the famous regiment as compiled from the regimental record of enrolment on board the *Royal George* while the First Contingent was en route for England in October, 1914, and before the Headquarters Company had been organized.

Co'y	Strength	English	Scots	Irish	Welsh	Can.	Others	Previous Army Training	Previous Active Service	Medals
No. 1	275	211	24	26	..	9	5	275	157	272
" 2	266	142	50	26	5	35	8	266	81	147
" 3	271	173	34	12	2	39	11	229	106	165
" 4	277	160	56	26	..	20	15	271	108	155
Total.	1,089	686	164	90	7	103	39	1,041	452	739

These figures show a total of 947, or almost 87 per cent. British-born; but this is hardly to be wondered at in view of the qualifications for enlistment. Save for the sprinkling of Canadian-born South African veterans, there were few war-experienced soldiers in the Dominion; but against this, we may note that in a sense the men

were truly Canadian, for they had made Canada their home and had long "neighboured with mountains and forests and streams" 'twixt the Atlantic and the Pacific.

The Princess Patricia's was a strangely mixed unit. Its Commanding Officer, as we have seen, was a Guards' officer, strongly Scottish in his sympathies, and from the Staff at Rideau Hall, as was also his Adjutant, Captain H. C. Buller, a nephew of that much-loved general, Sir Redvers Buller, whose name is a tradition in the British Army. The second-in-command, Major Andrew Hamilton Gault, the founder of the regiment, was a civilian soldier and a millionaire. The name of his wife is perpetuated in the regimental cap badge—a marguerite. Among the officers and men were soldiers, lawyers and physicians, merchants and brokers, ranchers and trappers, miners and lumbermen, with the usual spicing of failures and ne'er-do-wells, many of whom were to prove later their claim to recognition as men who could lay down their lives with the best. The regiment came into being without a band, but a happy chance brought Colonel Farquhar an offer from the Scots Pipe-Band of Edmonton, Alberta, and he was quick to seize the opportunity. Asked by telegram whether, if enrolled as pipers, they would qualify and serve as stretcher-bearers, the pipe-band agreed unanimously, and subsequently on the bloody fields of Flanders they nobly kept faith, serving their comrades loyally and devotedly even to the death. No record of the regiment can pass over Pipe-Major John Colville, of Campbeltown, Argyllshire, and his gallant band.

On Sunday, August 23rd, the regiment lined up on the Exhibition Grounds at Ottawa to receive from the hands of the Princess Patricia its Camp Colour—a square of blue and crimson edged with gold and bearing in its centre the monogram of Her Royal Highness worked in gold with her own hand. The Governor-General addressed the regiment after the ceremony and closed his remarks with these inspiring words: "I feel confident

that you, the men of the regiment, representing every part of Canada as you do, many of whom are imbued with the great traditions of the Army in which you formerly served and who in every clime and in every part of the world have nobly done your duty towards your Sovereign and your Country, will never forget the watchword of every true soldier—duty, discipline and mercy." The few words spoken by the Princess were prophetic: "I have great pleasure in presenting you with this Colour, which I have worked myself. I hope it will be associated with what I believe will be a distinguished corps. I shall follow the fortunes of you all with the deepest interest and I heartily wish every man good luck and a safe return." The men of the regiment nobly fulfilled her desire that the battalion should have a distinguished career, but her wish for good luck and a safe return was not to be realized. Only a broken handful of the splendid men who listened to her words were to return from the shot-shattered fields of Flanders and France.

The fitting out of the regiment was practically completed at Ottawa, although the boots served out were of little value for the purposes of a campaign. The equipment issued was the Web, which, in the strenuous days to follow, proved itself in every way superior to the Oliver, which was issued to the Canadian Expeditionary Force, and which was afterwards discarded before the battalions left their training areas in England. To the Princess Patricia's was issued the Ross Rifle, then the recognized weapon of the Canadian military forces. This weapon did not meet with general approval. Experienced soldiers freely admitted its superiority for target work under conditions of a rifle meeting, but the prolonged hostility of the National Rifle Association of Great Britain sowed seeds of marked distrust. In actual practice at Rockcliffe Ranges, while many good individual scores were made, the general practice was deplorable and the rifle developed faults. It jammed on little or no

1 2 3

1. CAPTAIN (AFTERWARDS LIEUT.-COL.) H. C. BULLER, *killed in action, June 3, 1916.*
2. LIEUT.-COL. F. D. FARQUHAR, D. S. O., *killed in action, March 20, 1915.*
3. COLOURS OF THE PRINCESS PATRICIA'S CANADIAN LIGHT INFANTRY

provocation; it missed fire frequently; but its crowning defect was manifest during rapid-fire practice with fixed bayonets, when the jar of the bullet leaving the muzzle shook the bayonets off. Alterations were made and the rifles were tinkered with; a later mark was issued, but the regiment sailed for England with a deeply-rooted distrust of the weapon with which they were armed.

On Saturday, August 29th, the regiment left the Exhibition Grounds and marched through crowded streets to the C.P.R. depot. The population of Ottawa thronged the streets; bunting floated everywhere; and with the heartiest of good wishes the men entrained for Montreal. On the departure platform were H.R.H. the Governor-General and the Duchess of Connaught, with the Princess Patricia; the royal party included Sir Robert Borden and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, with Sir Sam Hughes and others of Cabinet rank. The entraining was a model of military efficiency, and no one present had ever witnessed a smarter performance. The train reached Montreal on schedule time, and the march to the docks was made the occasion of a sympathetic reception from the people of Montreal, which should live long in the memory of those who, having received it, have had the good luck to pass alive through the fires of war.

Embarkation on the *Megantic* took place without the vestige of a hitch, the men practically boarding the ship and marching straight to their own sleeping quarters where their kits and impedimenta were deposited. Early on Sunday morning Montreal was called from sleep by the shrieks of hundreds of whistles and sirens. The *Megantic* had sailed for Overseas!

On the way down the St. Lawrence, disquieting rumours developed to the effect that the Admiralty had found it impossible to furnish the necessary ships of war to provide an escort across the Atlantic. This proved to be the truth and, on arrival at Quebec, much to the disappointment of every officer and man on board the *Megantic*, orders were at once given to disembark.

Stores were off-loaded in the sheds alongside, a guard placed, and the bulk of the regiment embarked in ferries and were taken across the river to Lévis, where the force remained in training until such time as the thirty thousand men who composed the First Canadian Contingent were ready to proceed overseas. The disappointment to the men of the Princess Patricia's was severe. They had confidently relied on the promises freely made at the time of enlistment that they were to proceed directly overseas for the immediate reinforcement of General French's "Contemptible Little Army," and to find themselves thus "cribbed, cabined, and confined" was a severe test to the entire regiment.

Some four weeks later, on September 27th, the Princess Patricia's again embarked, this time on the *Royal George*, and, with the other vessels of the Canadian Armada, proceeded to the mobilizing area at Gaspé Bay. Here the escort also had assembled, and on October 3rd, at 3.30 p.m., the entire fleet put out to sea—thirty transports escorted by H.M.S. *Eclipse*, H.M.S. *Diana*, H.M.S. *Talbot*, and H.M.S. *Charybdis*, the latter flying the flag of Rear-Admiral Wemyss, to whose charge the entire fleet had been committed.

On Wednesday, October 14th, Eddystone Lighthouse was sighted at noon, and that same day the entire fleet came to anchor in the Hamoaze at Plymouth although the sailing instructions had given Southampton as the destination. This divergence from orders was due to the presence of German "U" boats in the Channel, and occasioned great disappointment to thousands of people who had gathered at Southampton to welcome Canada-in-arms. Arrangements thus dislocated, it was three days before the regiment could disembark, and its destination was then Bustard Camp on Salisbury Plain.

For nearly a month the regiment fretted itself under exceedingly trying conditions, due largely to the continuous rains that made the camp ground a sea of mud. But early in November a welcome move was made to

Winchester, when the regiment again went under canvas —this time on historic Moon Hill where during the Civil War in England, the Great Protector had shelled the Royalist city, which still tried its best to prop the falling fortunes of the doomed House of Stuart.

Winchester is a town of note in the annals of the British Army, and no soldier can view the trophies in its venerable Cathedral and remain unmoved. The home of the Rifle Brigade and the King's Royal Rifles, it had been chosen by the War Office for the mobilization of the 27th Division under General T. D'Orsay Snow. As the future movements of this Division are of interest to Canada, the units are here given in detail.

The 27th and 28th Divisions composed the Fifth Army Corps under General Sir Herbert Plumer—the 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, and 85th Brigades. Organized in November, 1914, the 80th was a light brigade under Brig.-General Fortescue, comprising:

The Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry.
4th Rifle Brigade.
3rd King's Royal Rifles.
4th King's Royal Rifles.
2nd Shropshire Light Infantry.

The 81st was a Highland brigade under Brig.-General McFarlane, comprising:

9th Royal Scots (Territorials).
2nd Cameron Highlanders.
1st Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.
1st Royal Scots.
2nd Gloucesters.
9th Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders (Territorials).

The 82nd Brigade was an Irish brigade under Brig.-General Longley, comprising:

1st Leinsters (Royal Canadians).
2nd Royal Irish Fusiliers.
2nd Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry.

1st Royal Irish Rifles.
1st Cambridge (Territorials).
6th Cheshires.

From this it will be seen that General Snow had a magnificent fighting force under his command. The regular regiments of the line had only returned from foreign service in the Far East and as yet the European War had not touched them. The Empire had no finer body of men: English, Scotch, and Irish,—the highest traditions and records of the Army were here, and not a man but burned to wreak his personal vengeance on the brutal enemy who were then devastating Belgium and Northern France.

To every regimental mess in Winchester the Canadians of the Princess Patricia's were more than welcome. Soldiers of the Regular Army viewed with interest, respect, and curiosity a veteran regiment which could parade with a display of medals ranging from Afghanistan, 1878-79, to Bambaata's rebellion in Natal in 1906. While at Winchester, Colonel Farquhar's attention was drawn to the time-worn ribbons displayed on the tunics of the rank and file and orders were given to Quartermaster Wake to have a supply of new ribbon on hand ready for issue against the final review by King George and his Consort. A compilation from the attestation papers of the regiment revealed the extraordinary fact that, excluding French, Italian, and United States campaign honours, the regiment actually required thirty-three different ribbons. Eliminating from this list some half-dozen courtesy ribbons such as Jubilee, Coronation, Long Service, etc., it was found that there were twenty-seven fighting honours in the battalion, including the rainbow-hued ribbon for Lord Roberts' famous march from Kabul to Kandahar (Afghanistan, 1878-79), North-West Rebellion 1885, Egypt 1882-85-86-98, Matabeleland 1893, Rhodesia and Mashonaland 1906-07, Indian Frontier (Swat Valley, Tirah, etc.), Tibet 1903-04, Ashanti 1901, and China 1900. So much for "Britain's

Contemptible Little Army" which the Bernhardi type of publicist would have Germany believe knew next to nothing of the art of war.

The weather conditions during the fall of 1914 were terrible—Moon Hill, like Salisbury Plain, became a veritable sea of liquid mud. There were no huts: for weeks the men slept in wet clothes under wet blankets in tents which ought to have been, and probably were, condemned years before. The Medical Officer's parade came perilously near to a roll-call of the regiment. The Patricia's suffered, but their condition was infinitely better than that of the Regular troops, many of whom had spent seven years in the Far East and were more inured to the tropic sun than the damp cold of December in England.

The news that filtered past the censor from the Front was not reassuring. Personal tales of the great retreat from Mons came down to camp from the lips of survivors in London hospitals. The victorious tactics of General Foch at the Battle of the Marne were not fully appreciated. The men could not understand why, when things were in such a bad way in Flanders, experienced divisions like the 27th and 28th should be allowed to rot under canvas in England.

Many men were lost to the Patricia's at this time. The War Office was so slow in taking action that it was thought by some that the Government had in reality no intention of ever sending Canadians to the Front. Many men who were eager to fight secured furlough, deserted the regiment, and re-enlisted as private individuals with their former battalions, or wherever they were likely to receive an early call to France.

December was well advanced when goat-skin coats were forwarded to the Divison, and at the same time the Ross Rifle was finally withdrawn from the Princess Patricia's, and the men, to their infinite satisfaction, were re-armed with the short Enfield and the long bayonet. Spasmodic efforts were made to get in at least a pre-

liminary course of musketry instruction with the new arm, but the climatic conditions prevented anything like a proper preparation. At this time every round of ammunition counted, and, as a consequence, many men of the regiment went forward to France with a weapon from which they had never fired a round. In any of the former campaigns in which the British Army had been engaged, this would no doubt have been a very serious matter, but, as things turned out, between the 20th December, 1914, and the 8th of May, 1915—and these dates practically cover the fighting history of the original Princess Patricia's,—actual conditions of warfare rendered expert marksmanship almost a negligible quantity. Many men went through six months of hard fighting without ever having raised the leaf of the back sight of their rifle.

On the 17th of December, 1914, the 27th Division was visited by the King and Queen, and this proved to be the forerunner of the journey to the Front. Preparations immediately followed, and on Sunday, December 20th, the various units of the 27th and 28th Divisions took the road for Southampton—at last really en route for the historic fields of Flanders.

The early twilight of a December evening found the Patricia's once more on board ship—this time on the *Cardiganshire*,—and after an uneventful trip across the Channel, they landed at Le Havre on Monday forenoon, immediately proceeding to their base camp on the hills to the rear of the town. The weather was still wet, and as the men wore great-coats which covered up all evidence of their nationality as Canadians, the local population had no opportunity of giving a reception to what French folks of the original stock still consider to be cousins—once or twice removed—from across the seas. A night under canvas, then on Tuesday night the regiment entrained for its journey towards the firing line, detraining thirty-six hours later at St. Omer, at that time the Headquarters of Field-Marshal Sir John French.

OFFICERS PRINCESS PATRICIA'S CANADIAN LIGHT INFANTRY

Photographed August 27, 1914

MACHINE-GUN SECTION 92ND BATTALION, C. E. F.

No time was wasted—line of march was formed immediately and the 27th pushed on to Blaaringham. Here the Division went into camp and the entire force devoted a week to digging trenches, carrying out a scheme of earth-works in view of eventualities which never transpired. Their labours over, the line of march was again formed and after two long and weary hikes over cobbled and muddy roads, a halt was called at Dickebusch and the regiment found itself well within the fighting zone. Wet to the skin, utterly exhausted, no wonder even veterans experienced a shock when regimental orders brought the news that the Princess Pats were "for the trenches" that same night! Only extra emergency could justify such a course; but the fighting spirit rose to the occasion, and it was an eager and willing battalion that formed up late that night—No. 1 and No. 3 companies for the firing line; No. 2 and No. 4 as supports.

Previous to this, Colonel Farquhar, Capt. Buller (Adjutant), Major Gault, and the company officers had been taken over the ground and shown the lines which the regiment was to take over from the 22nd Battalion of French infantry. Needless to say, their welcome from their French comrades lacked nothing on the score of warmth, and when several hours later the Canadian relief actually appeared in the trenches, the welcome became uproarious and the Germans assisted the operations with showers of Verey lights (magnesium flares), followed by a rifle fusilade.

The weather had been atrocious and the trenches in front of St. Eloi, running alongside the road to Wytschaete were little more than open drains with a makeshift parapet not thoroughly bullet-proof—no loop-hole plates, no parados, no drainage arrangements. The men all stood over the boot-tops in water; in some places up to the knees. Rubber boots were worse than useless—the water got in at the top. Foot-trouble began immediately. From want of a better name it was called "frost-bite," but the men from Canada knew better than that

and called it trench feet. To the victims of this new war disease the suffering was intense, and whale-oil was requisitioned as a prophylactic. It did good no doubt, but many men were disabled by these hard conditions before they can properly be said to have been in action. The enemy positions occupied higher ground, and the drainage of their trenches seeped through into the Canadian lines, which, in some places, were only eighty yards away. No Man's Land was dotted with corpses, some of which had lain there since the deadlock in October, and the presence of these dead bodies would account for the poisonous nature of the disease affecting the feet of men forced to stand for hours in water containing the germs of putrefaction. The discomfort was extreme; dug-outs were of the most elementary description and men slept in an upright position leaning against a sodden wall of clay. That enteric fever was not epidemic and that tetanus was almost unknown among the men fighting in France and Flanders, is conclusive proof of the efficacy of innoculation.

That the countryside swarmed with German spies there cannot be the slightest doubt. In taking over these trenches from the French infantry, Germans would hail the relief force by name. "You are late in getting in to-night, Princess Pats"! would be heard with a Teutonic accent from the opposite lines, and during the day time enquiries were made from time to time as to whether there were any men from Edmonton or Calgary and so on. Sniping was an hourly occurrence, and not only from the front but from the rear. Colonel Farquhar was not long in making arrangements to combat this development of "slimners" on the part of the enemy, and a Snipers' Corps was formed under Lieut. Colquhoun, late of the 91st (Highland) Regiment of Hamilton, Ontario, with Sergt. Mackay, formerly of the Scottish Rifles, as his N.C.O. The dozen men composing the section were picked men and crack shots, and it was not long before they made their presence felt. Two of them netted a

bag of nine Germans in one tour of duty, and casualties from this source rapidly diminished and soon became merely sporadic.

On the 6th of January, the first night that the Regiment had occupied the first-line trenches, the Patricias suffered a serious loss through misadventure. Captain Denzil Winslow Cochrane Newton, in command of No. 1 Company, while patrolling the trenches on a boisterous, pitch-dark night to familiarize himself with the lie of the land and to assure himself of the safety of his command, unaware of the fact that the trench lines were not continuous but lay in partial echelon, cleared the end of one trench in the dark and walked out unwittingly in front of another. He was challenged in the darkness, but his reply was unintelligible to the sentry on duty and he was shot. This untoward occurrence cast a gloom over the regiment and may have been taken as an omen of even more serious losses to follow.

The weeks that followed were dreary and monotonous; both armies clung to their positions in the mud. Germany was seriously occupied in the East on the Masurian marshes with the Russians; Britain was busily engaged in manufacturing an army from civilians, and "Kitchener's First Hundred Thousand" were rapidly learning the art of war. During January and February of 1915, the regiment took its turn with the others of the Division in the routine of firing-line, support, Brigade Reserve and Divisional Reserve, which latter was euphemistically known as "rest" and was carried out, as a rule, in the neighbourhood of Westoutre and Reninghelst. Regimental Headquarters were in the support line at St. Eloi, where the C.O. and Staff found quarters in the *brasserie*. Brigade Reserve was located in Dickebusch, where lean-to huts had hurriedly been run up to supplement the scarcity of actual billets in the village itself.

The general plan was that during a tour of duty two days would be spent in the front line, two in dugouts in support, two in Brigade Reserve, a further period of

two in the front line, then a general retirement for an alleged "rest" for a week at Westoutre. Naturally, under war conditions, this schedule was more honoured in the breach than the observance. The opposing firing-line trenches were separated from each other by a distance varying from thirty to one hundred and twenty yards, so that little work could be done during the short daylight hours. Men worked like beavers, where work was possible. The old, carelessly constructed parapet of the French force was doubled in thickness, for its insufficiency had caused a terrible toll. At one time the casualty roll of the Princess Patricia's showed the extraordinary proportion of thirty-three dead to forty-four wounded, a peculiarity caused by the fact that a defective parapet was responsible for men being shot in the head and in the neck and receiving wounds from which they died on the spot.

The proximity of the combatants prevented serious artillery fire from either side. The hand grenade, as we now know it, was only being evolved and tentative practice was being made with old jam tins stuffed with explosives and fired with a length of ordinary fuse. The earlier efforts in this direction proved somewhat of the nature of a boomerang, as, the fuse being cut too long by the amateur grenadier, the enemy profited by the lateness of the explosion to grasp the "bomb" and throw it back to its originators. From the name of the makers of the jam from whose tins these amateur bombs were made, this reversion to medieval practices was known as "Tickler's Artillery." Its use was not prohibited, possibly because, although not recognized in the general scheme of things, it provided amusement for the men in what was at best a dull and unexciting time. A few months later the hand grenade came to its own and every regiment in the army had its grenadier company which, on parade, was entitled to the post of honour—the right of the line. Schools for bombers were established in the rear of the fighting line and efforts were made to

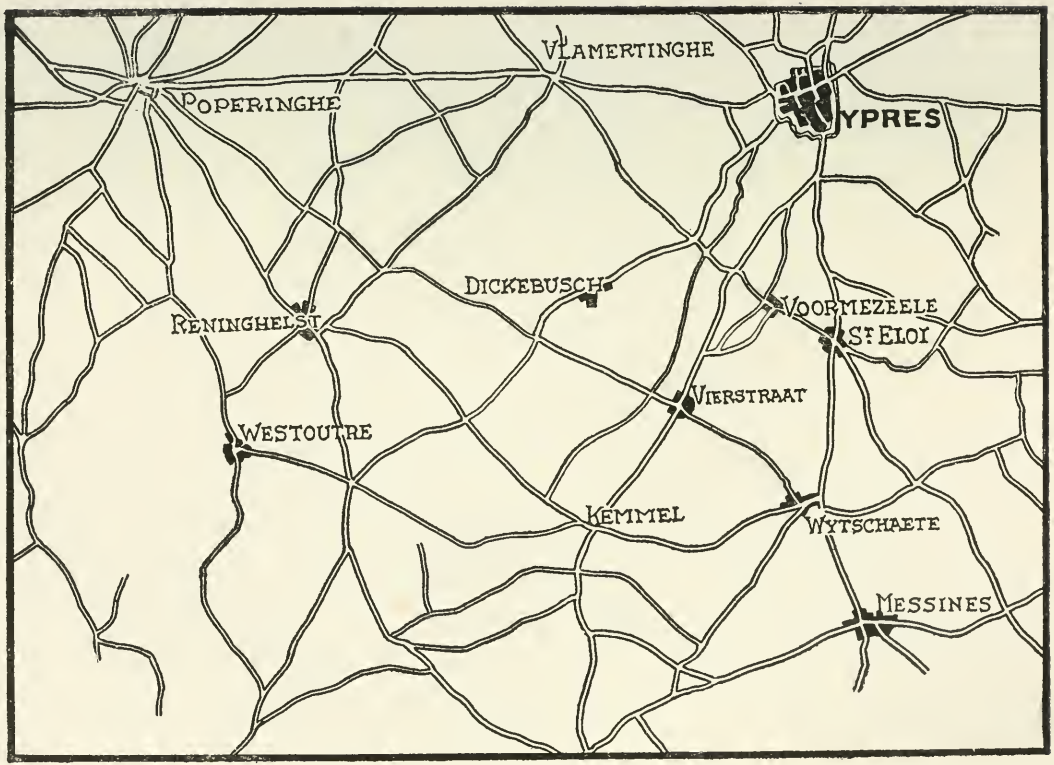
have every man take a ten days' course of training. The British Army was deplorably short of machine guns, each regiment having but two, and theoretically these were for defence. Little advantage was taken of the lesson taught by the South African War, when the pom-pom was used so effectively against the British soldiers by the German-instructed Boer. With astonishing lack of foresight, the War Office administration, which turned down the breach-loading, quick-firing Maxim-Nordenfeldt, known to the soldier as the pom-pom, was also responsible for relegating the machine gun to its position as a weapon of defence. To the army of to-day, a Machine-Gun Corps is just as much a necessity as the Field Artillery, and the Germans, having realized long ago that this was an axiom of war, profited accordingly. Had the Princess Patricia's been well supplied with machine guns, the lack of efficient bombs in the early stages of their war work would not have been as seriously felt.

Toward the end of February, it became evident that something sinister was developing to the east of Shelley Farm, near St. Eloi, and in due time the Flying Corps discovered that the enemy were driving an underground sap against the British position. The sap was zig-zag and the point of approach was evidently in the neighbourhood of trenches 19, 20, and 21, which had been held by the 27th Division since its arrival at the Front. Reports reached G.H.Q. from time to time that pick-axes could be heard at work and instructions reached Brigadier-General Fortescue that this enterprise of the Boche must cease. The proximity of the firing lines rendered artillery shelling out of the question and the situation resolved itself into a hand-to-hand operation with the bayonet and the bomb. The time fixed for the eradication of the menace was four o'clock on Sunday morning, February 28th, 1915, during the tour of duty of the Rifle Brigade and the Princess Patricia's in the front-line trench.

Both regiments claimed the honour of making the assault, and Colonel Farquhar won out.

It will be advisable to deal with the assault in detail as it was the first trench raid in which the Canadian Army took part, and it was subsequently to become a mode of warfare which in General French's Army was recognized as typically Canadian, calling as it did for individual courage and initiative. Details were entrusted to Colonel Farquhar while the regiment was in rest quarters at Westoutre. On Saturday, February 27th, the Patricia's returned to Dickebusch and the reconnaissance programme was carried out by Major Gault and Lieutenant Colquhoun, a point of attack determined and a way found through the Huns' wire entanglements. Twenty-five men selected from Colquhoun's snipers and Lieutenant Colville Eyre Crabbe's 13th Platoon, were to wriggle their way through the mud until within striking distance of the enemy position and then rush it at the bayonet point. If their attack succeeded a small party of the regiment under Lieutenant Talbot M. Papineau, with slung rifles and armed with picks, shovels, and explosives, would immediately swarm across No Man's Land and proceed to demolish the entire trench and sap, and as soon as this was effected would return by the shortest route to their own trenches and there prepare to meet the counter-attack which was almost sure to follow.

Immediately night set in, the regiment paraded in the main street of the little village of Dickebusch and proceeded to its appointed place via Voormezeele. Lieutenant Crabbe and thirteen men of the 13th Platoon lay in third line dugouts while the snipers under Corporal Ross occupied their own cellar rendezvous at the inn at St. Eloi. Promptly on schedule time, the two officers, accompanied part of the way by Corporal Ross, set out upon their dangerous mission. As long as possible—in fact it was after five o'clock before Col. Farquhar gave the word to Corporal Ross to lead the attack—the handful of snipers, then three bomb experts borrowed for the



OPERATIONS OF THE P. P. C. L. I.,

January and February, 1915

occasion from the 1st Royal Scots, then Lieutenant Crabbe and his thirteen men left the comparative shelter of Shelley Farm and proceeded with fixed bayonets in Indian file to squelch their way through the malodorous mud of a disused communication trench whose construction dated back to October, 1914, and in which still lay the half-submerged bodies of Poilu and Boche. The moon was at the full and threw her beams across the right shoulders of the attacking party so that the wonder is that the usually alert German sentries failed to detect the glitter of her beams on the naked bayonets. The men struggled forward, crouching low over the stinking mud. Ever and anon the nervous Huns sent up Verey lights and the attacking party would submerge itself and remain motionless until the danger passed. An angle of the trench to the left brought the entire party into a position parallel to that held by the 23rd Bavarians and from which the sap had been driven which was the primary cause of the whole attack. A few minutes breathing-time was given here, as, although in light marching order, the men were carrying extra ammunition and the trail from Shelley Farm had been laborious. At the moment of attack, they were just fifteen paces from the enemy parapet and yet the enemy seemed entirely unsuspicious of the impending assault. A whispered command, a cheer that sounded not unlike the savage snarl of a tiger about to leap on its prey, an impetuous dash on the part of the Patricia's, and in five seconds they were through the barbed wire in a mad rush, while the Huns dashed in a panic to the rear through their communication trenches. Pandemonium then broke loose from the entire German line for miles to the right and left—search-lights, Verey lights, machine guns, rifles, trench mortars—the moonlight paled before the stream of fire and a veritable hailstorm of lead swept the British parapets. Corporal Donald Ross was the first man into the German trench and, although he paid for his heroism with his life, his example inspired his

followers and did much towards winning this short, sharp trench battle. The Canadians were vastly outnumbered, but the element of surprise demoralized a bewildered enemy, many of whom were too unnerved even to put up their hands and were killed where they stood or crouched and left where they fell, to be buried in the subsequent ruin of their own handiwork. Only three German prisoners came out alive and two of them were subsequently killed by the fire of their own machine guns before they could be rushed to a place of safety. The three explosive experts, borrowed from the Royal Scots, with the pick-and shovel men, made very short work of the trench and sap, and in a few moments demolished the labour of months. The destruction completed, the invaders immediately retired to their own lines and by sunrise comparative quiet again reigned over the sector.

Telegrams of congratulation began to pour in upon Colonel Farquhar at once, so swiftly does news travel over the modern battlefield. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir John French; General Snow, commanding the Division; Brig.-General Fortescue, commanding the 80th Brigade; General Alderson, commanding the Canadian Expeditionary Force, now in France although not yet in the firing line,—all sent congratulatory messages. A night or two later Premier Asquith from the floor of the House of Commons informed the nation that "the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry has been doing most efficient work during the last few days."

Such is the detail of the first Canadian Trench Raid. It resulted in a complete success in so far as its objective was concerned and was the first intimation to the enemy that they had against them a foe very much to be reckoned with, in spite of the sneering reference of von Bernhardi in his text book of war from the point of view of the Hun. Major Gault, who had been wounded, was decorated with the Distinguished Service Order; Lieutenants Crabbe, Papineau, and Colquhoun received the

newly instituted Military Cross. Lieutenant Colquhoun's decoration was the reward for many acts of "conspicuous gallantry and resource, especially at St. Eloi on January 26th, when he rescued, with the assistance of one man, a mortally wounded officer after three others had failed in the attempt, being under heavy close-range fire the whole time." Both Corporal Ross and Company Sergeant-Major Lloyd of No. 4 Company would undoubtedly have received the Distinguished Conduct Medal, but unfortunately both laid down their lives in the assault. Lieutenant Colquhoun failed to return, and it was at first thought that he had been killed. but many months afterwards the regiment learned that he had been taken prisoner and was held in Germany. Some two years afterwards he made good his escape into Switzerland.

This vigorous onslaught perturbed the Germans in no small degree, and although hitherto always a lively sector, St. Eloi now became notorious for attack and counter-attack. On March 2nd the enemy massed in force, drove our lines right back upon the village itself, but the lost ground was immediately recovered by a subsequent operation.

On the 17th of March, the regiment lost its youngest officer, Lieutenant Eardley-Wilmot, killed by a sniper. He was buried where he fell alongside Trench No. 22. On the 20th occurred the crowning disaster of this period. Colonel Farquhar and his orderly, Pte. G. E. Pearson, were showing the Commanding Officer of the King's Royal Rifles the progress that had been made in the construction of a communicating trench to the rear of the position, when an enemy sniper, who probably sensed the importance of the individuals concerned, succeeded in hitting Colonel Farquhar and inflicting a mortal wound. The loss was keenly felt. The Colonel was a much-loved officer, whose every thought was centred on his men, and there was no member of the regiment who did not view his death as a personal loss. He was

buried with full military honours in the little churchyard at Voormezeele, in ground that had been granted in perpetuity to the Princess Patricia's by the Belgian Government. The second-in-command, Major Hamilton Gault, was, at this time, in England convalescing from the wound received in the attack on the 23rd Bavarians, and the command of the regiment devolved upon the adjutant, Captain H. C. Buller, who retained it until the 4th of May, 1915, when he was struck in the eye with a fragment of shrapnel while in trenches to the east of Ypres.[1]

[1]For the later work of the Princess Patricia's, see Volume III of this series.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

CANADIANS WITH THE IMPERIAL FORCES

THE Canadian Expeditionary Force was not the only contribution Canada made to the man-power of the Allies. At the outbreak of the war there were many Canadians in Europe and in Great Britain, and not a few of these hastened to enlist in the Imperial Army, some as officers, and more as privates. The Regular Army had as officers between 150 and 160 graduates of the Royal Military College of Canada. Of these the record is obtainable; but there were in different corps, and in the Navy many other officers and men of Canadian birth. On August 20th, 1914, sixteen days after the declaration of war by Great Britain, the *Canadian Gazette* of London, England, published an account of Canadians in the British Army. It will be seen from this account that men from the Dominion were on active service in every part of the widely scattered Empire, and that many of them had important positions; not a few of them were veterans with much battle experience.

"Canadian officers are found attached to the British Army all over the world. Staff-Captain B. H. O. Armstrong is Director of the Fortification and Works Office at the War Office in London. Lieutenant F. A. Wanklyn, of the Royal Artillery, is Flight Commander of the Royal Flying Corps on Salisbury Plain. Major G. H. Johnston is Director of Ordnance in New Zealand, and Colonel G. B. Kirkpatrick is Inspector-General of the Militia in Australia. Lieut.-Colonel R. K. Scott is Chief Ordnance Officer in Bermuda, and Captain C. M. Stephen holds a similar office in Jamaica. Captain F. H. Courtney is in command of a detachment of the Royal Garrison Artillery at Khartoum. Lieut.-Colonel G. B.

Laurie commands the First Battalion of Royal Irish Rifles at Aden. Major R. J. Macdonald is on command of a company at Malta. Lieutenant C. G. G. Mackenzie is with the Royal Scots Fusiliers at Gibraltar. Lieut.-Colonel Joly de Lotbinière, C.S.I., C.I.E., is Superintendent Engineer of the Public Works Department at Calcutta. There are quite a number of Canadian officers attached to the British Army in India, and some in China; but these are not quite so likely to see active service as those nearer home. Brevet-Major G. R. Frith is right in the heart of things at the War Office, and Lieutenant J. D. Gemmell is in the vital fortress of Gibraltar. Among Canadian officers in the British service now on the Reserve is Sir E. P. C. Girouard, who served with distinction in the Soudan and in South Africa.

"The Hon. Donald Howard, eldest son of Lady Strathcona and heir to the title, is with his regiment, the 3rd Hussars. Lady Strathcona's two younger sons, Harry and Arthur Howard, are in the Territorials, while her son-in-law, Lieut.-Commander Kitson, R.N., is presumed to be with the British naval forces in the North Sea.

"Mr. Frank Stobart, son of Mr. F. W. Stobart, formerly of Winnipeg, is with his regiment, the 18th Hussars.

"Many members of the staffs of the leading Canadian corporations are already with the colours, and a large number are on the 'waiting list' of Territorial regiments. The following is a list of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company's staff in the United Kingdom who have joined the colours, with the regiments to which they have been attached:

"Major H. N. Kersey, D.S.O., Manager-in-Chief Ocean Services—Herts Yeomanry; N. B. Mercer—London Rifle Brigade; L. F. Leonhardt and H. J. Hodges—both 3rd County of London Yeomanry; Geoffrey N. Carey and P. Thompson—both Army Service Corps; E. G. Moore, R. J. Harden, and P. T. Roberts—all 24th County of London Battalion (Queen's); George S.

Whyte—5th Scottish Rifles; W. T. Candeland—5th King's; E. Stubbs—4th Cheshire; C. N. Osborne—Denbighshire Hussars; F. Ranger—Army Service Corps; S. Collins, J. Paterson, W. Lyon, A. W. Bradshaw, and H. G. Sabin—all 10th Liverpool (Scottish Battalion); R. G. Murrow and C. G. Evans—both 6th Liverpool Rifles; J. Gray—10th Irish Regiment; A. B. Ball—Field Artillery; C. Coleman—Army Transport Corps; J. F. Stewart—Royal Marines.

"The following members of the Grand Trunk Railway Company's staff have also joined respective regiments:

"E. G. Laing—Royal Scots; J. Berington—Officers Training Corps; J. Oakley—'F' Company, 9th Battalion Middlesex (T) Regiment; C. R. Olver—5th King's Regiment, Liverpool; H. Hetherington—7th King's Regiment, Liverpool. . . .

Canadians in the Regular Army

CAVALRY

"Clinch, H. D., Major, 3rd Hussars, Shorncliffe; Holt, H. P., Lieut., 3rd Dragoon Guards, Cairo; Leader, H. P., Colonel (temp. Brig.-General), C.B., Brigade Commander Sialkot Brigade, India.

ROYAL HORSE AND ROYAL FIELD ARTILLERY

"Barker, F. E. L., Major, Commanding 56th (Howitzer) Battery R.F.A., Brighton; Budden, E. F., Lieut., "Q" Battery, Royal Horse Artillery, Sialkot, India; Campbell, H. M., Lieut.-Colonel and Bt.-Colonel, Commanding 32nd Brigade R.F.A., Woolwich; Duffus, E. J., Lieut.-Colonel, Commanding 8th (Howitzer) Brigade R.F.A., Kildare, Ireland; Duffus, G. S., Colonel, Commanding R.A., 1st London Divisional Territorial Force, England; English, M. W., Second Lieut., 45th Battery R.F.A., Bulford, England; Gray, P. E., Lieut.-Colonel (g), Commanding 20th Brigade R.F.A., Neemuch, India; Hamilton, G. T., Capt., R.F.A., employed with Canadian

Forces; Kirkland, T., Capt., 74th (Howitzer) Battery R.F.A., Jhansi, India; Mackie, W. B., Lieut., 141st Battery R.F.A., Hilsea, England; McLean, C. W. W., Capt., 'B' Battery R.H.A., Ambala, India; Plummer, M. V., Lieut., R.A., Instructor R.M.C., Canada; Uniacke, C. D. W., Capt. and Adjt., 4th Brigade R.F.A., Woolwich; Van Straubenzee, A. B., Second Lieut., 103rd Battery R.F.A., Karachi, India; Van Straubenzee, C. C., Major, Commanding 31st (Howitzer) Battery R.F.A., Woolwich, England; Wanklyn, F. A., Lieut., R.A., Flight Commander, Royal Flying Corps, Salisbury Plain; Weatherbee, W., Lieut., 24th Battery R.F.A., Fermoy, Ireland; Wurtele, H. A. S., Lieut., 137th Battery R.F.A., Newcastle-on-Tyne, England.

ROYAL GARRISON ARTILLERY

"Beer, V. L., (g), Capt.-Adjt., The Antrim R.G.A., Carrickfergus, Ireland; Courteney, F. H., Capt., Commanding Detachment R.G.A., Khartoum, Soudan; Dean, A. C. H., Capt. (g), Instructor in Gunnery, Queenstown, Ireland; Greenwood, T. C., Lieut., No. 48 (Heavy) Battery, Woolwich; Hamersley, H. St. G., Capt. (g); Hollinshead, H. N. B., Capt. (f), No. 20 Company, Jersey, Channel Islands; Holmes, H., Lieut., h.p.; Johnston, G. N., Major (g), Director of Ordnance and Artillery, Dominion of New Zealand; Macdonald, R. J., Major (g) (f), Commanding No. 65 Company, Malta; Macrae, A. E., Lieut., Ordnance College, Woolwich; Moore, W. A., Capt. (1), No. 3 Company Singapore Battery, Hong Kong; Morris, R. C., Major (g), Commanding No. 17 Company, Channel Islands; Poole, H. R., Capt. (g), Adjutant, Malta; Ridout, J. Y. H., Capt. (g), Instructor of Gunnery, Western Coast Defences, Pembroke Dock, South Wales; Smith, A. E., Capt. (g), Instructor of Gunnery, Second Class, Plymouth; Wilkes, G. S., Capt., Indian Ordnance Department.

ROYAL ENGINEERS

"Archbold, F. H. W., Capt., Meerut, India; Armstrong, B. H. O., Capt., Staff-Capt., Director Fortification and Works Office, War Office, London; Baker, E. C., Capt., Deputy Superintendent Survey of India, Chindwara, India; Bingay, H. L., Capt., Assistant Instructor in Fortification, S.M.E., Chatham, England; Bremmer, A. G., Major, Superintendent of Park, 3rd Sappers and Miners, Kirkee, India; Campbell, H. B. D., Major, Garrison Engineer, Ranikhet, India; Carey, H. C., Lieut.-Colonel, h.p.; Carr-Harris, G. E., Capt., Student, Staff College, Quetta, India; Carson, C. F., Lieut., Assistant Engineer N.W. Railway, Lahore, India; Cartwright, G. S., Lieut.-Colonel, C.R.E., Gosport District, England; Dawson, E. F., Lieut., Second Assistant Instructor Surveying, S.M.E., Chatham; Denison, G. W., Capt., Adjt., East Lancashire Divisional Engineers, T.F., Manchester; Duff, G. M., Lieut.-Colonel, Assistant C.R.E., Nowshera, India; Edgar, D. K., Capt., Garrison Engineer, Secunderabad, India; Evans, A. S., Capt., Garrison Engineer, Ferozepore, India; Frith, G. R., psc. Capt. (Bt.-Major), D.A.A.G., War Office, London; Gemmill, J. D., Lieut., 1st (Fortress) Company, Gibraltar; Grassett, A. E., Lieut., 'B' Signal Company, Limerick, Ireland; Greenwood, E. H. de L., Second Lieut., S.M.I., Chatham, England; Joly de Lotbinière, A. C. de L., Lieut.-Colonel, C.S.I., C.I.E., Superintendent Engineer P.W.D., South-Western Circle, Calcutta, India; Joly de Lotbinière, H. A., Lieut., under instruction, Railway Course, Eastleigh, England; Joly de Lotbinière, H. G., Major, D.S.O., Division Officer, Netheravon, England; Kirkpatrick, G. B., Colonel (temp. Major-General), C.B., psc. Inspector-General Military Forces, Commonwealth of Australia, Melbourne; Lesslie, W. B., Major, D.A.A.G., R.E., Simla, India; MacInnes, D. S., Major (temp. Lieut.-Colonel), D.S.O., psc. qs., G.S.O., Second Grade, Staff College, Camberley, England; Nanton,

H. C., Lieut.-Colonel and Bt.-Colonel, Deputy Director-General of Military Works, Simla, India; Osborne, G. F. F., Capt., Executive Engineer, Eastern Bengal State Railway, Calcutta; Panet, A. E., Major, Principal Assistant to C.R.E., Quetta, India; Rhodes, G. D., Lieut., No. 26 (Railway) Company Sappers and Miners, Quetta, India; Ridout, D. H., Lieut.-Colonel, C.R.E., Singapore, Straits Settlements; Skinner, T. C., Lieut.-Colonel, C.R.E., Pembroke Dock, South Wales; Sweeny, S.F.C., Second Lieut., under instruction, S.M.E., Chatham; Twining, P.G., M.V.O., King George's Own, Sappers and Miners, Roorkee, India; Tyrell, W. G., Lieut., 29th Company, Chatham, England; Wheeler, E. O., Lieut., Garrison, England, Meerut.

INFANTRY

"Carruthers, C. J., Second Lieut., Royal Dublin Fusiliers, Madras, India; Cory, G. N., Major, D.S.O., psc. Royal Dublin Fusiliers, G.S.O., Third Grade, War Office; Dobell, C. M., Colonel (temp. Brig.-General). D.S.O., A.D.C., psc. (1), Inspector-General W.A.F.F.; Graves, T. M., Lieut., Royal Welsh Fusiliers, Portland, England; Hamilton, W. A., Major, Connaught Rangers, Ferozepore, India; Hay, G. H., Second Lieut., Royal Scots, Plymouth, England; Hayter, R. J. F., Capt., psc. (1), Cheshire Regiment, G.S.O. Second Grade, 6th Division, Halifax, Nova Scotia; Heneker, F. C., Capt., Leinster Regiment, Cork, Ireland; Heneker, W. C. G., Lieut.-Colonel and Bt.-Colonel, D.S.O., A.D.C., Commanding 2nd Battalion North Stafford Regiment, Rawal Pindi, India; Kaulbach, H. A., Capt., Royal Lancaster Regiment, Lebong, India; Kenny, G. W., Major, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, Trimylgherry, India; Kirkpatrick, E. R. M., Lieut., Yorkshire Light Infantry, Singapore, Straits Settlements; Laurie, G. B., Lieut.-Colonel, Commanding 1st Battalion Royal Irish Rifles, Aden; Luard, C. C., Lieut.-Colonel, Commanding 1st Battalion Durham Light Infantry, Nowshera, India; Mackenzie,

C. G. G., Lieut., Royal Scots Fusiliers, Gibraltar; Morris, E. M., Major, Devonshire Regiment, Brigade-Major, Notts and Derby Infantry Brigade, Nottingham; Sears, J. W., Colonel, Brigade Commander D.L.I. Infantry Brigade, Durham, England; Skinner, F. St. D., Colonel, psc. A.Q.M.G., 5th (Mhow) Division, India; Smith, E. O., Lieut.-Colonel, Northamptonshire Regiment, Blackdown, Hants, England; Smith, H. C., Lieut.-Colonel (f), Hampshire Regiment, Mhow, India; Spread, E. J. W., Lieut., Loyal North Lancashire Regiment, Aldershot, England; Sweny, W. F., Major, Royal Fusiliers, employed with Canadian Forces; Taylor, E. T., Colonel, psc., G.S.O., First Grade, 4th (Quetta) Division, India; Uniacke, J. B., Capt., Liverpool Regiment, Peshawur, India; Wilkie, A. B., Capt. (1) Royal Sussex Regiment, Woking.

ARMY SERVICE CORPS

"Cockburn, C., Second Lieut., Woolwich, England; Butler, H. B. B., Second Lieut., Woolwich, England; Dickey, O. B. R., Capt., Cape Town, South Africa; Duffus, F. F., Major (e) Bulford Camp, Hants; Fessenden, J. H., Capt., Commanding 25th Company, Woolwich, England; Hamersley, H. St. G., Lieut., Dublin; Lambert, M. L. B. H., Capt. (1), Cyprus; McLennan, J. L., Second Lieut., Aldershot; Peterson, G. L., Capt., Jamaica; Reid, H. G., Capt. (e), employed with New Zealand Forces; Stewart, M. S., Second Lieut., Aldershot, England; Scott, R. K., Lieut.-Col. D.S.O. (f), Chief Ordnance Officer, Bermuda; Stephen, C. M., Capt. (o) (e), Chief Ordnance Officer, Jamaica.

ARMY PAY DEPARTMENT

"Mosgrovex, R. St. P., Capt., Cairo, Egypt.

INDIAN ARMY

"Boggs, A. B., Second Lieut., 29th Lancers (Deccan Horse), Poona, India; Brown, G. B., Capt., 58th Vaughan's Rifles (Frontier Force), Quetta; Flagg, A.,

Capt., 25th Punjabis, Hong Kong; Gibson, J. G., Lieut. and Q.-M., 14th Murray's Jat Lancers, Risalpur; Gwyn, A. H., Capt., Survey of India; Hackett, H. M. M., Capt., 2nd Battalion, 6th Gurkha Rifles, Abbotabad; Hardie, G. E., Capt., 123rd Outram's Rifles, Manipur; Henderson, E. P., Lieut. and Adjt., 106th Hazara Pioneers, Quetta; Hunter, F. F., Capt., Survey of India; Hutton, G. M., Lieut., 22nd Sam Browne's Cavalry (Frontier Force), Jacobabad; Jukes, A. H., Lieut. and Adjt., 2nd Battalion, 9th Gurkha Rifles, Dehra Dun; Maynard, F. H., Capt., 125th Napier's Rifles, Mhow; Mitchell, W. J., Major, 124th Duchess of Connaught's Own Baluchistan Infantry, Tientsin, North China; Peters, J., Capt., 10th Duke of Cambridge's Own Lancers, Hodson's Horse, Loralai; Reid, W. C., Capt., 32nd Lancers, Jubbulpore; Robertson, C. A., 61st King George's Own Pioneers, Bangalore; Rogers, G. H., Capt., T.S.C., 11th Rajputs, Dinpore; Silver, H. E., Lieut., 18th Infantry, Dera Ismail Khan; Rogers, A.S.C., Lieut., King George's Own Pioneers, Bangalore; Skinner, H. T., Capt., 29th Punjabis, Chaman; Spain, G. A. R., Lieut., 103rd Mahratta L.I., Ahmednagar; Stewart, H. S., Capt., 17th Cavalry, Allahabad; Sweeny, R. L. C., Supply and Transport Corps, Poona; Syer, H. H., Capt., Supply and Transport Corps, Commandant 52nd Camel Corps, Jhelum.

UNATTACHED LIST, INDIAN ARMY

"McIvor, R. S. P., Second Lieut.

ROYAL AUSTRALIAN ARTILLERY

"Bridges, W. T., Colonel (temp. Brig.-General), C.M.G., Commandant Military College, Australia.

RESERVE OF OFFICERS AND RETIRED PAY

"Adams, A., Capt., late Royal Engineers; Campbell, K. J. R., Capt., D.S.O., late R.O.; Cameron, K. B., Capt., late Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders; Casgrain, P. H.

du P., Major, late Royal Engineers; Cowie, C. S., Capt., late Royal Scots (Lothian Regiment); De Bury and De Bocarme, H. R. V., Count, Capt., late Royal Garrison Artillery (Major, Canadian Ordnance Corps, Winnipeg); Dumble, W. C., Capt., late Royal Engineers; Farley, J. J. B., Capt., late North Staffordshire Regiment; Girouard, Sir E. P. C., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Bt.-Colonel, late Royal Engineers; Hansom, C. S., Second Lieut., late D.G.; Hewett, E. V. O., Major, late Royal West Kent Regiment; Hodgins, C. R., Major, late Army Ordnance Department; Kennedy, J. N. C., Major, late Royal Engineers; Lang-Hyde, J. I., C.M.G., Lieut.-Colonel, late Royal Engineers; Luard, G. D., Major, late Scottish Rifles; McIlhinney, W. J., Major, late Royal Engineers; McLaren, R. J., Capt., late West Yorkshire Regiment; Moren, J. A., Capt., late Royal Garrison Artillery; Payzant, R. H., Capt., late Lancashire Fusiliers; Rogers, H. S., Major, late Royal Engineers; Smith, A. E., Capt., late R.G.A.; Strange, H. B., Major, late Royal Garrison Artillery; Tilley, W. F., Major, late Royal Engineers; Van Straubenzee, A. H., Colonel, late Royal Engineers; Van Straubenzee, B. W. S., Major, late South Wales Borderers; Worsley, G. S., Capt., late R.A. (Inspector, Royal North-West Mounted Police)."

This list includes only graduates of the Royal Military College of Canada, who held commissions in the British Army. This institution during the war continued to contribute to the fighting strength of the Motherland. From its walls a continual stream of well-trained young men crossed the ocean to take commissions in the Imperial Forces, ninety-eight going before the end of 1916. In all, between 700 and 800 graduates and ex-cadets were, early in 1917, fighting in the various theatres of operations; seventy-six had been killed, and more than 130 had received decorations.

The number of the *Canadian Gazette*, which gave this information regarding the Canadians in the British

Army, likewise gave a brief statement concerning Canadians in the British Navy.

"A score of Canadian officers and cadets are now with the British fleet. Eighteen more have missed the opportunity by a few hours. The Canadians now on active naval service include eleven officers and eight cadets. The cadets are all on H.M.S. *Berwick*. The officers are scattered in eight vessels, two of them in Canada's navy, the remaining six in the Imperial force. The eighteen who missed active service are midshipmen. They were about to leave Halifax to join the H.M.S. *Essex*, but the *Essex* suddenly sailed under sealed orders, and the midshipmen were retained on shore. Four of them are now at Quebec, four are at Halifax, four are in the department at Ottawa, three are at Esquimalt; and the three others are assigned to duty at various points. The officers on active service and the ships to which they are attached are:

"Engineer-Lieut. Hubert J. Napier, of England, on H.M.S. *Colossis;* Engineer-Lieut. George D. Clarke, of England, on H.M.S. *Monarch;* Engineer-Lieut. S. N. De Quelte-Rille, of Jersey, England, on H.M.S. *Indefatigable;* Engineer-Lieut. Frank H. Jefferson, of England, on H.M.S. *Temeraire;* Sub.-Lieut. Charles T. Beard, Ottawa, on H.M.S. *Lancaster;* Sub.-Lieut. P. W. Nelles, of St. Johns, P.Q., on H.M.S. *Suffolk;* Sub.-Lieut. Victor Brodeur, on H.M.S. *Berwick;* Naval Instructor David A. Robinson, Toronto, on H.M.S. *Berwick;* Surgeon Joseph A. Rosseau, Montreal, on H.M.S. *Niobe;* Surgeon G. A. L. Irwin, Sydney, Nova Scotia, on H.M.S. *Rainbow;* Ch. Bandmaster George W. Hopkins, of England, on H.M.S. *Niobe.*

"The following cadets are on H.M.S. *Berwick:*

"W. J. R. Beach, Salt Spring Island, British Columbia; T. S. Critchley, Halifax, Nova Scotia, grandson of Sir Sandford Fleming; J. C. I. Edwards, Londonderry, Nova Scotia; D. St. G. Lindsay, son of the Superintendent of Pilots, Capt. Lindsay, Quebec; H. E. Reid, Portage du

Fort, P.Q.; H. W. S. Soulsby, Haileybury, Ontario; C. R. H. Taylor, Weymouth, Nova Scotia; R. W. Wood, Pardshaw, Duncan, British Columbia.

"The eighteen cadets who just missed their opportunity are:

"R. J. Agnew, Toronto; M. Cann, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia; A. H. Dand, New Glasgow, Nova Scotia; M. Gauvreau, P.Q.; J. M. Grant, Halifax, Nova Scotia; H. J. F. Hibbard, St. Malachie, P.Q.; G. V. W. Hatheway, Fredericton, New Brunswick; C. C. Jones, Halifax, Nova Scotia; J. D. Laurie, Quebec; R. F. Lawson, Chesterville, Ontario; W. Maitland Dougall, Koksilah, Vancouver Island, British Columbia; L. W. Murray, Pictou Landing, Nova Scotia; D. B. Moffatt, Citadel, Quebec; J. E. W. Oland, Halifax, Nova Scotia; W. A. Palmer, Halifax, Nova Scotia; A. W. Silver, Halifax, Nova Scotia; G. A. Worth, Eglinton, Ontario; R. C. Wilson, Edmonton."

Some of these cadets had but a brief stay ashore. Four of them were on board the *Good Hope* in the Battle of Coronel. Among the casualties on that ill-fated ship, which bravely battled against overwhelming odds, were Midshipmen A. W. Silver, W. A. Palmer, G. V. W. Hatheway, and M. Cann. On several other British ships there were officers and men of Canadian birth, and when the casualties from such ships as the *Aboukir*, *Hogue*, and *Hawke* were published, it was found that men who claimed the Dominion as their native land had made the supreme sacrifice while helping guard the shores of Great Britain and the highways of trade.

APPENDIX II

CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT WORLD WAR 1914

June 28.—Archduke Francis Ferdinand assassinated in Serajevo.

July 23.—Austria sends an ultimatum to Serbia.

July 25.—Serbia sends reply; Austria terms it unsatisfactory.

July 27.—Austrian Army invades Serbia.

July 28.—Austria declares war on Serbia. Partial mobilization of Russian Forces. French army moves toward frontier.

July 29.—Austrians bombard Belgrade. Belgium calls out reserves.

July 31.—Germany demands that Russia demobilize. Belgium army mobilized.

Aug. 1.—Germany demands of France her intentions; France mobilizes. Germany declares war on Russia. Canadian Cabinet meets; offer to raise troops sent to London.

Aug. 2. —Germany violates Luxemburg, invades France at Cirey, and sends ultimatum to Belgium. Russian forces cross German frontier. Royal Proclamation calling out Royal Naval Reserves published in Canada. German naval bombardment of Libau.

Aug. 3.—Germany declares war on France. Cities in Russian Poland seized by Germans. Italy proclaims her neutrality. Ports of Montreal and Quebec taken in charge by military authorities. Canadian Order-in-Council passed providing for increased issue of Dominion notes and authorizing Canadian banks to

make payment in bank-notes instead of gold or Dominion notes.

Aug. 4.—German invasion of Belgium. British ultimatum to Germany demanding that Belgian neutrality be respected. Germany declares war on Belgium. Great Britain declares war on Germany. Sir John Jellicoe appointed to command the Grand Fleet. War session of Canadian Parliament called. Mobilization of Canadian Expeditionary Force begins.

Aug. 5.—Germans attack Liège. Lord Kitchener becomes British Minister of War. German minelayer *Kōnigen Luise* sunk in North Sea by H.M.S. *Amphion*. Canadian Government buys two submarines. Mr. Andrew Hamilton Gault offers to equip regiment (Princess Patricia's).

Aug. 6.—Austria declares war on Russia. British fleet concentrates in North Sea. Italy decides on remaining neutral. Offer of Canadian troops accepted by Great Britain. H.M.S. *Amphion* sunk by mine in North Sea.

Aug. 7.—Embarkation of British Expeditionary Force begun. Germans enter Liège; French invade Alsace. Montenegro declares war on Austria.

Aug. 8.—Serbia declares war on Germany. Construction work begins on Valcartier Camp.

Aug. 9.—French evacuate Mülhausen. *Goeben* and *Breslau* escape to Dardanelles. Russians enter Austria; Austrians enter Russian Poland. Dar-es-Salaam, German East Africa, raided. H.M.S. *Birmingham* sinks German submarine U15 in the North Sea.

Aug. 10.—France declares war on Austria.

Aug. 11.—Germans advance towards Verdun and Longwy. French army suffers reverses in Alsace.

Aug. 12.—Great Britain declares war on Austria. Battle of Haelen. Montenegro declares war on Germany.

Aug. 13.—Turkey purchases the *Goeben* and *Breslau* from Germany. Fight at Diest. German attack on Tirlemont.

Aug. 14.—Generals French and Joffre in conference.

Aug. 15.—Czar promises restoration of Poland. Fight at Tirlemont. Fall of last Liège forts. Japan sends ultimatum to Germany demanding withdrawal of Pacific fleet and surrender of Kiao-Chau.

Aug. 17.—Official announcement that British Expeditionary Force has landed in France. Germans capture Tirlemont. Belgian capital moved to Brussels.

Aug. 18.—Special War Session of Canadian Parliament opens. Lunéville bombed by German monoplanes. German advance on Brussels begun.

Aug. 19.—French reverse in Lorraine. Russian success in East Prussia. Belgians defeated at Louvain. Germany rejects Japan's demands.

Aug. 20.—Germans enter Brussels. Belgian army retreats to Antwerp. Canadian War Credit of $50,000,000 passed.

Aug. 21.—German investment of Namur and capture of Ghent. Austrians defeated by Serbs in four-days' battle near Loshnitsa. First bombardment of Cattaro.

Aug. 22.—Allied reverse at Charleroi. Germans levy Brussels for £8,000,000. Austrians routed by Serbians on the Drina.

Aug. 23.—German attacks on Mülhausen repulsed. Belgians withdraw from Namur. British retreat on Cambrai. Russians advance into East Prussia. Japan declares war on Germany. War begun between Germany and Japan.

Aug. 24.—Germans occupy Namur. Zeppelins bomb Antwerp. Serbian campaign abandoned by Austria. Austria declares war on Japan. Japanese fleet begins bombardment of Tsing-Tau.

Aug. 25.—French withdrawal from Alsace. Battle of Lemberg begins. Serbia clear of invaders.

Aug. 26.—Germans sack and burn Louvain. Fall of last Namur forts. British reverse at Maubeuge; retirement between St. Quentin and Cambrai. Surrender of German Togoland to Allies.

Aug. 27.—Allied retirement to the Somme. Food prices fixed by German Government. Russians capture Tilsit. Blockade of Tsing-Tau. *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse* sunk off West Coast of Africa by H.M.S. *Highflyer*.

Aug. 28.—German advance reaches St. Quentin. Capitulation of Longwy. Austria declares war against Belgium. British naval victory in Bight of Heligoland. Japanese troops landed near Tsing-Tau.

Aug. 29.—La Fère captured by the Germans; march on Amiens. Princess Patricia Regiment sails from Montreal. Investment of Königsberg and occupation of Allenstein by Russians. German Samoa occupied by New Zealanders.

Aug. 30.—German occupation of Amiens. German aviators bomb Paris. Austrian defeat at Lemberg.

Aug. 31.—Allies retire to line of Seine, Oise, and Upper Meuse. Russian defeat at Tannenberg. Name of St. Petersburg changed to Petrograd.

Sept. 1.—German attack on Belfort fails. Battle of Lemberg begins.

Sept. 2.—Allies take up Seine, Marne and Upper Meuse line. French capital moved to Bordeaux. Austrian defeat at Lemberg.

Sept. 3.—German occupation of Lille. Germans at Senlis, twenty-five miles from Paris. British reach the Marne. Austrian success at Lublin. Russians occupy Lemberg.

Sept. 4.—Germans occupy Rheims. France, Russia, and Great Britain agree not to conclude a separate peace.

Sept. 5.—Germans capture Maubeuge forts and Termonde; abandon attack on Belfort. Light cruiser *Pathfinder* sunk by submarine in the North Sea.

Sept. 6.—Beginning of the Battle of the Marne.

Sept. 7.—Germans reach farthest point of advance on march to Paris; capture Maubeuge. Russians close in on Przemysl. German cruiser *Nürnberg* cuts cable between Fanning Island and British Columbia.

Sept. 8.—German right forced by British over the Marne. French victory on the Ourcq. Surrender of Ghent. Serbian invasion of Bosnia and victory near Racha.

Sept. 9.—British cross the Marne. German evacuation of Upper Alsace. Austrians evacuate Russian Poland.

Sept. 10.—End of the battle of the Marne. Belgian reoccupation of Termonde. Russians menace Breslau. Serbian crossing of the Save. German cruiser *Emden* in Bay of Bengal.

Sept. 11.—French recapture Mülhausen; re-enter Chalons. Austrians assume offensive near Lemberg. Capture of Semlin by the Serbs. Montenegrins march on Sarajevo.

Sept. 12.—Battle of the Aisne commences. Lunéville retaken by the French. Austrian defeat near Tomaszov. Bismarck Archipelago seized by Australian navy.

Sept. 13.—German evacuation of Amiens. Russian victory near Lemberg. German light cruiser

Hela sunk in North Sea. German invasion of British East Africa. Kiao-Chau Station seized by Japs.

Sept. 14.—German stand on the Aisne. German defeat near Mlawa (Poland). German cruiser *Cap Trafalgar* sunk by British cruiser *Carmania* off Brazil.

Sept. 15.—French reoccupy Rheims. Austrians hemmed in between the Rivers San and Vistula. Hungary invaded by Serbs. German defeat in Namaqualand.

Sept. 16.—Battle line extends from Noyon to Verdun. Russians driven from East Prussia. Przemysl first attacked by Russians. Austrians defeated by Montenegrins near Koulilovo.

Sept. 17.—Ambassador Gerard has peace talk with the German Chancellor.

Sept. 18.—German bombardment of Termonde completed. Russians threatened by German advance in Suwalki Province.

Sept. 19.—Shelling of Rheims by the Germans; they capture Beaumont. Luderitzbucht, German South-West Africa, occupied by South African troops.

Sept. 20.—Indecisive battle of the Aisne continued. Rheims Cathedral bombarded. Russian attacks on Jaroslav and Przemysl. Austrians defeated by Serbs near Novi-Bazar. Six British vessels sunk by *Emden*. *Königsberg's* dash into Zanzibar harbour.

Sept. 21.—Capture of Jaroslav and Dubiecko by Russians. Semlin evacuated by Serbs. *Clan Matheson* sunk by *Emden*.

Sept. 22.—German invasion of France from Lorraine frontier. Austrians defeated on the Drina. H.M.S. *Cressy*, *Aboukir*, and *Hogue* sunk by German submarine U9 in the North Sea.

Sept. 23.—Verdun bombarded. British raid on airship sheds at Düsseldorff. Austrian retreat from Przemysl threatened. Serb victory over Austrians on the Drina. German cruiser and two torpedo boats sunk by Russian cruiser *Bayan*. *Emden* bombards Madras.

Sept. 24.—Siege warfare on the Aisne. Meuse chain of forts under bombardment. First British Indian troops land at Marseilles. German defeat at Lublin. Montenegrin success in Bosnia.

Sept. 25.—Germans drive back Allies at Noyon. Battle of Niemen crossings begins. Cracow occupied by Germans. Przemysl cut off. German New Guinea captured by Australians.

Sept. 26.—Fort des Romaines, St. Mihiel, captured by Germans. Meuse crossed near Verdun. Zeppelins raid Warsaw. Walfish Bay raided by the Germans.

Sept. 27.—Malines reoccupied by Germans. First bombs dropped on Paris by German aeroplanes. Przemysl town and fortress occupied by the Russians.

Sept. 28.—Belgians recapture Alost. German attack on defences of Antwerp. German retreat from the Niemen. Hungary invaded by Russians. German Congo seized by French and British forces.

Sept. 29.—Outer forts at Antwerp bombarded. Semlin recaptured by Serbs. Further sinkings by *Emden* in Indian Ocean.

Sept. 30.—St. Mihiel recaptured by the Allies. Germans fail to cross the River Niemen. Cruiser *Cumberland* captures Hamburg-America liner *Arnfried*.

Oct. 1.—Southern forts of Antwerp fall. Indian Expeditionary Force lands in France. Battle of Augustovo begins.

Oct. 2.—Roye captured by the Germans. Admiralty announce laying down of defensive mine-field in North Sea.

Oct. 3.—Russian advance in Transylvania. Cruiser *Karlsruhe* reported as having sunk seven British ships.

Oct. 4.—British marines arrive in Antwerp. Seat of Begian Government removed to Ostend.

Oct. 5.—Germans take up offensive in the Argonne district and along the Meuse.

Oct. 6.—Germans force passage of the Nethe.

Oct. 7.—Germans close in on Antwerp. Orders for mobilization of Second Overseas Canadian Contingent. Battle of the Vistula begins.

Oct. 8.—Antwerp bombarded by German siege guns and Zeppelins. Montenegrin gain in Herzegovina.

Oct. 9.—Surrender of Antwerp. End of Battle of Augustovo, in which Germans were defeated. Beginning of second Russian attempt in East Prussia.

Oct. 10.—British marines interned in Holland. Air raid on Zeppelin sheds at Düsseldorff. Austrian success in Galicia.

Oct. 11.—German air raid on Paris. Bombardment of Arras begins.

Oct. 12.—German entry into Ghent. Siege of Przemysl abandoned by Russians; retirement from Galicia. Russian cruiser *Pallada* sunk in the Baltic.

Oct. 13.—Germans capture Lille, occupy Hazebrouck, Ypres, and Ghent, and levy £20,000,000 on Brussels. Belgian seat of government withdrawn to Havre. Boer rebellion under Maritz.

Oct. 14.—Belgian army leaves Ostend and joins Allies in the field. Allies occupy Ypres. Germans enter Bruges. Canadian Expeditionary Force

reaches Plymouth. Trial of Serbs for the Sarajevo murder begun.

Oct. 15.—Germans occupy Thielt, Damme, and Esschen. Botha takes the field against South African rebels. H.M.S. *Hawke* sunk by German submarine in the North Sea.

Oct. 16.—Germans occupy Ostend. Austro-German offensive between Vistula river and Galicia; advance in Poland checked near Warsaw. Serbs and Montenegrins defeat Austrians at Glasinatz.

Oct. 17.—German advance on Dunkirk. Allies recapture Armentières. Austrian successes in Galicia. German advance near Mlawa. Four German destroyers sunk off Dutch coast by H.M.S. *Undaunted.* Allied bombardment of Cattaro.

Oct. 18.—Battle of the Vistula ends in Russian victory. Serbs rout Austrians on the Save and the Drina.

Oct. 20.—Bruges reported recaptured by Allies. Sale of liquor in Russia prohibited. Japanese fleet captures Mariana and Marshall groups.

Oct. 21.—German advance through Northern Belgium to the French coast checked. Further sinkings by the *Emden.* First Battle of Ypres begins.

Oct. 22.—Lille reported to be in flames. Von Falkenhayn succeeds von Moltke as Chief of the German General Staff. German retreat from vicinity of Warsaw.

Oct. 23.—Victory claimed by Germans near Augustovo. Czernovitz reoccupied by Austrians. Japanese begin bombardment of Tsing-Tau.

Oct. 24.—Germans force passage of Yser Canal between Nieuport and Dixmude.

Oct. 26.—Anglo-French force enter Edea, German Cameroons. French liner *Amiral Gantéaume,* with 2,500 refugees on board, torpedoed in English Channel.

Oct. 27.—Spread of Boer rebellion; De Wet and Beyers join the movement. British super-dreadnought *Audacious* strikes mine in Irish Sea and is sunk—crew saved.

Oct. 28.—South African rebels routed by Botha. German invasion of Angola. *Emden* enters Penang harbour and sinks Russian cruiser and Japanese gun-boat.

Oct. 29.—Bombardment of Odessa by the Turks. Resignation of Prince Louis of Battenburg as British First Sea Lord.

Oct. 30.—Russian reoccupation of Czernovitz. Austrian reverse near Tarnow. Baron Fisher appointed British First Sea Lord. Russia declares war against Turkey.

Oct. 31.—Austrian success in Bukowina. British cruiser *Hermes* torpedoed in Straits of Dover.

Nov. 1.—Russians advance beyond the Vistula. Montenegrins bombard Cattaro and make advances in Herzegovina. Japanese bombardment of Tsing-Tau. German naval victory under von Spee off Chilean coast; H.M.S. *Monmouth* and *Good Hope* sunk.

Nov. 2.—Germans capture Messines and Allies Ramscapelle. Engagement between Russians and Turks near Trebizond. British reverse in East Africa. German naval demonstration off Yarmouth; British submarine sunk. British Admiralty proclaims North Sea a military area. Bombardment of Dardanelles forts.

Nov. 3.—Floods threaten Germans in the Yser region. Russian advance in Galicia and East Russia. Turks claim successes in Armenia; threaten Suez Canal.

Nov. 4.—Germans sustain reverses along the Yser, but repel attacks in the Vosges and south of Verdun. Russian invasion of Armenia begins. German warships off English coast.

Nov. 5.—Germans repulsed at Arras; win in the Vosges and in the Argonne. Russians capture Jaroslav and defeat Austrians on Galician front; invade Armenia. Britain declares war against Turkey and proclaims annexation of Cyprus.

Nov. 6.—Austro-German retreat in Galicia and East Prussia. Armenians besiege Van; Batoum bombarded by Turks. Storming of Tsing-Tau central fort. France and Belgium declare war against Turkey.

Nov. 7.—Fall of Tsing-Tau.

Nov. 8.—Flight of German population on borders of Posen and Silesia. Przemysl again attacked by Russians.

Nov. 9.—German attacks at Dixmude and Ypres resumed. *Emden* destroyed at Cocos Island by H.M.S. Australian ship *Sydney*.

Nov. 10.—German right driven towards the Masurian Lakes. Cossacks enter Posen. German cruiser *Königsberg* blockaded and disabled by H.M.S. *Chatham* in the Rufiji river, German East Africa. Austrian invasion of Serbia begins.

Nov. 11.—Germans capture Dixmude, cross Yser Canal, and drive Allied troops from St. Eloi. Botha defeats De Wet. H.M.S. *Niger* sunk by German submarine near mouth of Thames.

Nov. 12.—G rmans pierce British lines at Ypres. Siege of Przemysl resumed.

Nov. 13.—Austrian evacuation of Central Galicia. German advance and victory in Poland. Russians advance in Galicia and East Prussia.

Nov. 14.—German victory in the Argonne. Capture of Berry au Bac. Russian advance in East Prussia. Death of Lord Roberts at St. Omer, France.

Nov. 15.—Germans driven across the Yser. British repulse attacks on Ypres. Germans prepare defensive lines between North Sea and the Rhine.

Nov. 16.—Advance of Russians in East Prussia checked.

Nov. 17.—End of the first Battle of Ypres. Bombardment of Libau by German squadrons. Austrians capture 8,000 Serbs at Kolubara river. British War Loan of £350,000,000.

Nov. 18.—Russia forced to retire between the Vistula and the Warthe. Russian Black Sea Fleet in action with *Goeben* and *Breslau*.

Nov. 19.—Von Hindenburg checked on Vistula-Warthe line.

Nov. 21.—French advance in the Argonne region. British air raid on Friedrichshafen. Basra, Persian Gulf, occupied by British.

Nov. 22.—Germans within forty miles of Warsaw. Austrian victory over Serbs on the Kolubara river. Turks successful near Port Said; reach Suez Canal.

Nov. 23.—Sanguinary fighting in the Argonne. British defeat Turks near Persian Gulf; sustain reverse in German East Africa. Portuguese Government authorized to intervene in war as Great Britain's ally.

Nov. 24.—Strong German attacks from Ypres to La Bassée. Russians win victory in Poland; defeat Turks in Armenia.

Nov. 25.—Austrians routed by Serbs near Kolubara river.

Nov. 26.—H.M.S. *Bulwark* blown up in the Medway, off Sheerness.

Nov. 27.—Austrians admit evacuation of Czernovitz; defeated by Montenegrins near Vishegrad. Maritz defeated in South Africa. German submarine raid in English Channel.

Nov. 28.—Russian forces near Lodz attempt to encircle Germans in that neighbourhood. Retreat of Germans in Poland; Russians in Czernovitz.

Nov. 30.—Germans break through Russian trap at Lodz and capture 12,000 prisoners. Russian victories in Galicia and the Carpathians.

Dec. 1.—Austrian victory in Poland. Russian success on the Vistula. De Wet taken prisoner. German battleship and cruiser sunk in Baltic.

Dec. 2.—Plock occupied by Russians. Austrians capture Belgrade after a siege of 126 days.

Dec. 3.—Germans begin offensive on the Vistula. Serbs defeat Austrians in three-days' battle. Russian bombardment of Cracow.

Dec. 4.—Germans attempt to cross Yser on rafts. Russian victory at Lodz, Northern Poland.

Dec. 6.—German victory followed by occupation of Lodz.

Dec. 7.— Heavy fighting in the Argonne region. Second battle of Warsaw begins. Defeat and death of General Beyers.

Dec. 8.—German headquarters on Western Front moved from Roulers. Great Austrian defeat in five-days' battle. British victory won by Sturdee over von Spee's squadron at the Falkland Islands; cruisers *Scharnhorst*, *Gneisenau*, *Leipzig*, and *Nürnberg* sunk.

Dec. 9.—French Government returns to Paris. Kurna (Persian Gulf) occupied by British troops. Solomon Group seized by British forces.

Dec. 10.—Evacuation of Roulers and Armentières by Germans. *Goeben* bombards Batoum. End of Boer rebellion. Submarine raid on Dover. Japan to divide control of German South Sea possessions with Australia.

Dec. 12.—Austrians force the Dukla Pass.

Dec. 13.—Germans repulsed in three-days' battle on the Lys. Russian evacuation of Lodz. German repulse at Mlawa. Montenegrins attack Austrian forces in Bosnia. British submarine, after diving beneath five rows of mines, sinks Turkish battleship *Messoudieh* in the Dardanelles.

Dec. 14.—Russian armies south of Cracow threatened by Austrian advance across Carpathians. Serbs recapture Belgrade.

Dec. 15.—Austrians force Russians back on the San river. Senussi tribesmen threaten Egypt.

Dec. 16.—Germans evacuate Dixmude; press forward in Argonne region, and are repulsed in Alsace. King Peter's entry into Belgrade; Serbia free of invaders. Scarborough, Hartlepool, and Whitby bombarded by German cruisers.

Dec. 17.—Westende entered by Allied forces. Russian offensive against Poland and Silesia breaks down. German attack on the Vistula near Warsaw. Von der Goltz appointed commandant at Constantinople. British protectorate proclaimed in Egypt

Dec. 18.—Roulers taken by Allied forces. German troops within eighteen miles of Warsaw.

Dec. 19.—German positions between Nieuport and Middelkerke shelled by British warships.

Dec. 20.—Russians pressed back from the Vistula to the Carpathians.

Dec. 21.—Allied attacks repelled near Chalons and La Bassée. French win between the Lys and the Aisne.

Dec. 23.—Mlawa retaken by Germans and new advance made. Austrian reverses in Southern Galicia and the Carpathians. Germans force Portuguese retirment in Angola.

Dec. 24.—First German air raid on England (at Dover).

Dec. 25.—Unofficial "truce of God" on western front. Western Carpathians passes again in Russian hands. British naval raid on Cuxhaven; German aeroplane raid on Sheerness, on the Thames.

Dec. 28.—Austrian retreat in Western Galicia. United States Government protests against interference by British warships with American commerce.

Dec. 29.—Serbs make crossing of the Save near Semlin.

Dec. 30.—German air raid on Dunkirk. Austrians abandon relief of Przemysl. French submarine torpedoes, but fails to sink, Austrian *Viribus Unitas*.

Dec. 31.—Russian successes in Western Galicia. Princess Patricia's regiment reaches the Western front. Pola bombarded by French and British warships.

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